Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-94-136
Friday
15 July 1994

Daily Report
East Europe

FBIS-EEU-94-136 *15 July 1994*

CONTENTS

NOTICE TO READERS: All material in this volume previously disseminated in electronic form.
An Ω indicates a Foreign Media Note.

ALBANIA

Ministry Spokesman Protests Greek Stand *[Tirana TV]* 1

BULGARIA

FYROM Envoy: Problems Stem From Albanians *[Sofia Radio]* 2
Official Policy Toward FYROM Said Disoriented *[KONTINENT 13 Jul]* 2
BSP Leader Videnov Views Visit to Poland *[NOVINI 5 7 Jul]* 3
Dogan Attack on Ethnic Issue Said Political *[OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK 7 Jul]* 3

CZECH REPUBLIC

Havel Discusses Relationship With Klaus *[MLADY SVET 7 Jul]* 4
Army Changes Equipment Modernization Plans *[MLADA FRONTA DNES 14 Jul]* 5

SLOVAKIA

Report on Mubarak-Havel News Conference *[Cairo MENA 14 Jul]* 6
'New Stage' in Relations *[Bratislava Radio]* 6
Egyptian Foreign Minister on Sanctions on Iraq *[Cairo MENA 14 Jul]* 7
Journalist, SNS Criticize U.S. Rights Report *[SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA 13 Jul]* 7
MKDH: Signpost Law Acceptable Compromise *[SME 13 Jul]* 8
KSU Head Says Party Situation 'Under Control' *[SME 12 Jul]* 8
Poll: Support for DU-NDS-DS-SPZ Coalition *[SME 12 Jul]* 8
SPZ Advocates Broader Center-Right Coalition *[SME 13 Jul]* 9
Official Views 'Democratization' in Army *[SME 13 Jul]* 9

HUNGARY

Prime Minister-Designate Presents Program *[Budapest Radio]* 12
Culture Minister-Designate Views Tasks, Prospects *[UJ MAGYARORSZAG 14 Jul]* 17

POLAND

Pawlak, Olechowski Leave for Meeting in Trieste *[Warsaw Radio]* 19
EIB Gives Poland 1 Billion ECU's *[PAP]* 19
Party Leader on Presidential Race, Walesa *[ZYCIE WARSZAWY 14 Jul]* 19
Union of Labor Sejm Deputy Smolko Interviewed *[GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA 7 Jul]* 20

ROMANIA

Melescanu Assesses Relations With Bulgaria *[DUMA 8 Jul]* 23
'Exclusive Interview' With Vladimir Zhirinovskiy *[ROMANIA LIBERA 11 Jul]* 23
Official Views Panel Report on SRI Activity *[ROMANIA LIBERA 8 Jul]* 25
Article Views Government Involvement in 'Scandal' *[ADEVARUL 6 Jul]* 26
Development Agency Head on Foreign Investments *[AZI 17 May]* 26
Filipoiu on 'Difficulties' in Commodities Exchange *[ADEVARUL 2 Jun]* 29
Erosion of Ethnic Romanian Identity in Ukraine *[DIMINEATA 17 Jun]* 29

Efforts To Combat Organized Crime Detailed *[AZI 23 Jun]* 30
Problems of Romanian Workers in Israel *[ADEVARUL 22 Jun]* 31
PDAR on 'Disastrous' State of Agriculture *[EVENIMENTUL ZILEI 18 Jun]* 32
Meat Stockpiled in State Producer Units *[ADEVARUL 14 Jun]* 33

BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

Izetbegovic To Address Congress on Plan 18 Jul *[Sarajevo Radio]* 34
Izetbegovic Praises Opening of French Embassy *[Sarajevo Radio]* 34
Court Denies Rejection of Contact Group Plan *[Sarajevo Radio]* 34
Juppe Warns Serbs Against Total Isolation *[Paris LE FIGARO 14 Jul]* 34
Ganic Discusses Serbian Position on Peace Plan *[AFP]* 35
Milosevic Said To Be Behind Pro-Bosnian Rally *[Sarajevo Radio]* 35
Krajina Officer Denies Involvement in Bihac *[TANJUG]* 35
UNPROFOR: Army Seizes Two Hills in Bihac *[AFP]* 35
Intra-Muslim Fighting in Cazin Krajina Continues *[TANJUG]* 36
Sarajevo Radio: Aid Only Delivered to Abdic 36
Sarajevo Radio Reports Serbs Shelling Gradacac 36
Army Reportedly Thwarts Serbian Infiltration *[Sarajevo Radio]* 36
Turkish President Cancels Visit to Sarajevo *[AFP]* 37
Dutch UNPROFOR Battalion Commander Relieved
[Rotterdam ALGEMEEN DAGBLAD 12 Jul] 37
Muslim Organization Issues Statement on Plan *[Sarajevo Radio]* 37
UN Seen as Promoting 'Jihad' Involvement *[VOJSKA 5 May]* 37
UN, Other Organizations Said Helping Muslims *[VOJSKA 5 May]* 39

CROATIA

Tudjman, Silajdzic View Developing Relations *[Zagreb Radio]* 41
Croatian, Bosnian Prime Ministers View Talks *[Zagreb Radio]* 41
Refugee Blockade Keeps UN From Attending Talks *[TANJUG]* 41
Government on Refugees *[Zagreb Radio]* 42
RSK Border Patrol Attacked by Croatian Troops *[TANJUG]* 42
UN Denies Croatian Claims of Serb Attack *[TANJUG]* 42
SNS Leaders Present New Peace Proposal *[HINA]* 43
Nation Status Requested *[TANJUG]* 43
Opposition Questions UNPROFOR Mandate *[HINA]* 43
HDZ Calls on Opposition To Return to Parliament *[HINA]* 44
Demirel Voices Willingness To Develop Relations *[Zagreb Radio]* 44
Two Croatian Soldiers Killed in Exclusion Zone *[TANJUG]* 44
April Munitions Depot Blast Called 'Accident' *[Zagreb Radio]* 44

THE FORMER YUGOSLAV REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA

Crvenkovski: No Dialogue Until Embargo Lifted *[MIC 14 Jul]* 46
'Very Serious Parliamentary Crisis' Viewed *[NOVA MAKEDONIJA 13 Jul]* 46
Commentary Views 'Irregularities' in Census *[NOVA MAKEDONIJA 14 Jul]* 47
'Doubling' Unemployment Rate Predicted *[VECER 14 Jul]* 47
VMRO-DPMNE, SDB, Press 'Scandal' Viewed *[VECER 11-12 Jun]* 48

YUGOSLAVIA

Federal

Lilic Says Peace 'Only Reasonable Decision' *[Belgrade Radio]* 51
Three-Fourths of State Budget Alloted to Army *[DNEVNIK 14 Jul]* 51
Government Accuses Albania of Violating Rights *[TANJUG]* 52
Training of Pozarevac Tankermen Detailed *[VOJSKA 5 May]* 52
War Readiness of Troops in Slavonia Viewed *[VOJSKA 5 May]* 53

Serbia

Serbs Issue Appeal To Yeltsin, Berlusconi *[TANJUG]* 54
Seselj: Serbs Should Not Accept Peace Plan *[TANJUG]* 54
Djindjic Sees 'No Reason' To Make Concessions *[BORBA 14 Jul]* 54
Serbian Opposition Expected at Pale Session *[BORBA 14 Jul]* 55
Government Notes Upswing in Industrial Output *[TANJUG]* 56

Kosovo

Rugova Reelected as Party Leader at Convention *[TANJUG]* 56
Rugova Urges Independence *[TANJUG]* 56
Rugova Addresses Assembly *[Tirana TV]* 57
Political Declaration Presented *[KOSOVA DAILY REPORT 14 Jul]* 57

Ministry Spokesman Protests Greek Stand

AU1407202094 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 14 Jul 94

[Announcer-read statement by Foreign Ministry spokesman in Tirana on 14 July 1994]

[Text] Frequent incidents have recently been noticed on the Albanian-Greek border and surrounding areas. In just the last week two incidents have occurred—on 7 July, when a Greek patrol penetrated approximately 800 meters into Albanian territory and opened fire on an Albanian patrol on duty, and on 10 July, when an Albanian national, Mirela Hazizi, was gravely wounded after Greek police opened fire, in an unjustified way, on a group of Albanian civilians.

Concerned to discover the truth about the circumstances of these grave incidents, which have caused victims, and in the framework of the cooperation between the two ministries of public order, the Albanian side has requested that it participate in the investigation at the scene of the incidents. It is regrettable, and seemingly not unusual, that the Greek side has not responded positively to this official proposal by the Albanian side regarding participation in the investigation.

The official announcement through diplomatic and other means has shown that the stance maintained so far by the Greek side regarding these incidents has been characterized by a lack of commitment to discover the truth, illogical explanations, and an open lack of responsibility.

In view of these facts and concerned over the situation created in Albanian-Greek relations, which has a direct effect of aggravating the situation in the southern Balkans, the Albanian party protests against this stance of the Greek side and is compelled to believe that behind this policy of tension on the Albanian-Greek border there is the influence of Greek official circles.

We request that the Greek side should be serious, sincere, and responsible in its relations with Albania, if it really wants to do such a thing.

FYROM Envoy: Problems Stem From Albanians

AU1307153794 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1300 GMT 13 Jul 94

[Report by Daniela Yakova]

[Text] The extraordinary census of the population and housing stock of the Republic of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] has finally been completed, Georgi Spasov, ambassador of Macedonia, announced at a news conference in Sofia.

According to the latest information available to the international commission on the census, only 30 percent of the population of Deva municipality, which is mainly Albanian, failed to take part in the census. The statistical data on the ethnic breakdown of the population in the republic will be ready in 39 days' time, Georgi Spasov said. Bulgarian was not among the six languages used in taking the census, because, according to the ambassador, the Bulgarian nationality is not one of the nationalities officially registered in the Constitution of the Republic of Macedonia, and at the last census in 1991 only 1,370 people gave their nationality as Bulgarian. According to the data of the last census over 2 percent of the population gave their nationality as Serbian, which is not officially recognized as a nationality either. This was the reason why the Serbian language was included on the census forms, the ambassador said.

Ambassador Spasov does not believe there are any people in Macedonia who are suffering because of their ethnic affiliation, and added that anyone is free to state his ethnic affiliation in the column headed nationality irrespective of the six languages used in the census.

According to Mr. Spasov, the main ethnic problems in Macedonia stem from the Albanians, because in each of the last 10 years the country has accepted about an average of 12,000 immigrants from Kosovo and Albania. He mentioned the accusation that the chairman of the census commission [first name indistinct] Ivanov had submitted to the international observers who are investigating violations, that [passage indistinct], following which even the names of dead Albanians were recorded on the census forms. As for the incident in Tetovo, according to Ambassador Spasov this was an isolated occurrence involving young people and should not lead to any exacerbation of interethnic problems.

Official Policy Toward FYROM Said Disoriented

AU1507074394 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 13 Jul 94 p 4

[Article by Ivan Petrov: "They Spit in Our Face, We Think It Rains"]

[Text] Against the background of the so-called census in the Republic of Macedonia [the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], it became extremely clear that Skopje's anti-Bulgarian campaign had become a sick phenomenon. The phenomenon itself is not new, and by now the cup should have been full. However, further on we will explain why it does not run over.

According to independent U.S. sources, which in this case are not all that independent, there are about half a million Bulgarians in Macedonia. Later on, in Sofia, President Kiro Gligorov told our president that there are only 2,000 Bulgarians in his state. Our president did not contest the obvious manipulation in an appropriate manner, and again demonstrated that we conduct a timid and inconsistent policy toward our neighbors. The current Serbian- communist leadership of the republic only pretends that it facilitates the democratic reforms in the country. With blows below the belt and obvious implications that the time of Tito's State Security Administration has not passed yet, Skopje's authorities simply spit in our face, while we pretend that this is the morning dew or a mild rain.

We did what we could: Bulgaria recognized the independence of the Republic of Macedonia without any preconditions. We render Macedonia cultural and economic aid, and assumed the risk of angering Greece by opposing the Greek economic embargo. The native mass media (precisely as if someone was paying them to do this) constantly speak about admitting Macedonia to the United Nations and all European and world structures. We speak with the best intentions about the "state of Macedonia," the "Macedonian president," and "Bulgarian-Macedonian friendship." Several pseudojournalists even began to explain how naive we are because we do not recognize the Macedonian nation and language. It is easy to see what journalists or experts they are—they do not even mention the Treaty of Neuilly, which inflicted on Bulgaria one of its most terrible wounds. [1919 treaty that deprived Bulgaria of its access to the Aegean Sea and territories that were ceded to Romania, Greece, and Serbia.] Actually, grovelers and sycophants have always existed in our country.

The author of "Fascism," who also happens to be Bulgaria's president, even went to Skopje in order to present his book, translated into Macedonian. For his part, when Kiro Gligorov came to Bulgaria, he brought a translator with him. Zhelev told him that he understood everything and did not need a translator, but his words were like locking the stable door after the horse had already been stolen. Otherwise, both presidents are intelligent men and therefore, they must know that at the National Revival period people like the Miladinov brothers [champions of Bulgarian culture in Macedonia in the mid-1800's], Kuzman Shapkarev [Bulgarian teacher and cultural figure, active in Macedonia at the turn of the century], Grigor Purlichev [Bulgarian educator and culture, active in Macedonia in the second part of the 1800's], and afterward, Ivan Vazov [Bulgaria's national poet], used the Bulgarian language. And if they did not know this, they could ask their advisers, and thus learn that the literary language at that period was the Bulgarian language, and that Lyubomir Miletich, Simeon Radev, Dimitur Talev, [famous Bulgarian writers of Macedonian origin] and many others, used it.

The Republic of Macedonia became a state only recently. This is a well-known fact. However, how many people know that for 1,300 years it has been a geographic concept describing a part of Bulgarian territory, like Mysia, Dobrudzha, Thrace.... Macedonia was created in the ideological communist laboratories of the USSR, where the Macedonian language was developed in retorts. Only a short period of time passed since then, therefore, the witnesses, let alone history, will never forget this. In this context, the official Bulgarian policy, to put it mildly, is strange, disoriented, and dependent on the political situation. Is it so difficult to understand that it was precisely because of such policy that we had to pay dearly for many years? We must first show self-respect, and then seek the respect of others.

BSP Leader Videnov Views Visit to Poland

AU1407112894 Sofia NOVINI 5 in Bulgarian 7 Jul 94 pp 1, 7

[Interview with Zhan Videnov, Bulgarian Socialist Party leader, by Zhoro Dimitrov; place and date not given: "We Saw in Poland How Left-Centrists Govern"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] [Dimitrov] With what representatives of the executive and legislative powers did you meet in Poland during your visit?

[Videnov] I had a meeting with Sejm Marshal Oleksy, who expressed suprise at the fact that relations between our parliaments are so limited. This is especially puzzling against the background of the fact that the chairman of our parliament—Aleksandur Yordanov—is very proud of the fact that he specialized at the Jagiellonian University and of his love for Poland. Apparently, those omissions will be corrected at the level of parliamentary groups and commissions. We also met with Poland's Deputy Prime Minister Tomaszewicz, and with such an important minister as Labor Minister Leszek Miller. [passage omitted]

[Dimitrov] Will the contacts between the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] and the Social Democratic Party of the Republic of Poland [SDRP] strengthen after your visit?

[Videnov] Undoubtedly. For more than three years we did not have any contacts at the highest level because of the dynamic character of the events in our countries. We maintain very active relations, exchange documents, and attend each others' congresses. Prof. Topencharov attended their last congress. Now we expect a high-level delegation of the SDRP and much assistance in our election campaign and in our eventual leadership after the elections. They have exceptional and unique experience in this respect and asked us to seek their help in this sphere whenever we need it. [passage omitted]

Dogan Attack on Ethnic Issue Said Political

AU1407122694 Sofia OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK in Bulgarian 7 Jul 94

[Neven Kopandanova commentary: "On a Razor's Edge"]

[Text] The Movement for Rights and Freedoms [DPS] did not question the fact that the language of the commands in the Bulgarian Armed Forces should be the official Bulgarian language, a statement of the DPS Central Council and parliamentary faction reads. According to the spokesman of the parliamentary faction, Yunal Lyutfi, his party members were concerned with the concept "obligatory" that appears in the regulations describing the military duties, whose unclear formulations conceal the threat of repeating phenomena such as the so-called revival process.

The reanimation of the political concept of the "revival process," undoubtedly most painful for the DPS voters, and its ever more frequent use, are hardly the result of concern about human rights violations. Furthermore, in his report at the DPS Second National conference Dogan admitted that "we have every reason to demand that our experience in peacefully resolving the basic rights and freedoms of the minorities becomes universal, and become incorporated in mankind's common experience in resolving such issues."

This frank statement clearly demonstrated that the sinister shadow of the "revival process" is being now pulled from the ashes not in order to shock the political opponents, but to rally DPS voters. Those voters, as is well known, are disappointed with the DPS leaders, who for 18 months used the cabinet mandate without protecting a single vital interest of their voters. They already have another political alternative, and this means not only Mehmed Hodja. It was no accident that precisely in Kurdzhali, the region Mehmed Hodja dominates, Dogan recently seriously stated that his people could boycott the Army because of the language. It is not a secret that one of the reasons Hodja enjoys influence in the region is because of his promise the help the voters obtain the status of national minority. It appears that Dogan, who until now has refrained from such promises, has decided to begin an attack, also on the basis of the delicate strings of the ethnic issue. Indeed, this could guarantee him absolute leadership of his confused voters, at the cost of assuming the great risk of moving on the razor's edge in terms of the Constitution.

Havel Discusses Relationship With Klaus

AU1407180294 Prague MLADY SVET in Czech No 28, 7 Jul 94 pp 8-11

[Interview with President Vaclav Havel by Jan Kaspar and Tomas Nemecek at Prague Castle; date not given: "Audience"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] [MLADY SVET] As journalists, we do not have to mince our words: It seems to us that there is a conflict in many areas between yourself and the prime minister. Would it not be appropriate to acknowledge this conflict loud and clear?

[Havel] I do not believe there is a major conflict between us. We differ on many issues, we are aware of each other's views, and we air them every now and then, usually just between the two of us. It occasionally even reaches the media. Nevertheless, one cannot refer to it as personal feud. The prime minister is very nice, and I enjoy his company. At the same time, he has a very strong personality and definite opinions, and so do I, so there will apparently always be differences between us. Let us hope that it will be to the benefit of the society.

[MLADY SVET] This relationship was probably rather complex from the very beginning. How has it developed in your perception?

[Havel] It seems that newspapers find this topic very attractive. I have known him since the 1960's, when I chaired the editorial board of the magazine TVAR. It was the only noncommunist magazine at the time. It was not even reform-communist. Moreover, it was not just a magazine with a circulation of 2,000 copies but a sign of the times, a generational expression of a certain stand (by the way, today, numerous TVAR associates hold important posts). Vaclav Klaus used to write an economic column for TVAR that I liked because it did not conform to the trendy Sik (Czech deputy prime minister in the 1960's in charge of economic reform) theses. Klaus called a spade a spade. After that, I had not heard of him for 20 years. Still, periodically—about every five years—I asked myself what could have happened to that Klaus, he must be reading economics somewhere in Pittsburgh. It was only in Laterna Magica, when we were founding the Civic Forum, that Rita Klimova pointed out that we were rather short on younger economists with liberal orientation and then brought in Vaclav Klaus.

[MLADY SVET] How did she know him?

[Havel] She was organizing seminars by people from banks and the Forecasting Institute. She invited me several times to come and have a look. I was constantly followed, however, and there were concerns that they would get us.

[MLADY SVET] How did you meet after 20 years?

[Havel] Vaclav Klaus is an extremely diligent person. He was working in Laterna Magica from morning till evening like a little bee. When I was sitting in the ballerinas' changing room, composing the Civic Forum program, he was sent to help me edit the economic aspect of the final text. I recall that he had only one comment—that I cross out the word "social" in one of the sentences. I did not realize that it was the Klaus from TVAR. When I realized it, I was happy that he was not in Pittsburgh but in Prague, and taking part in the revolution. It had a lot of all kinds of strange reversals of circumstances then.... It certainly is good that he stayed in political life. [passage omitted]

[MLADY SVET] Sometimes it seems as if the prime minister again divides the world: There are the "standard" people on one side and the left-wing dreamers on the other. He apparently places you in the latter group. Do you feel in this context that it is about time for the term "left-wing" to lose its demonic quality and for some authority—you, for instance—to say finally that there is nothing wrong with the concept, that it is a legitimate part of the world?

[Havel] It is true that such an atmosphere has formed here that being "left" is perceived as something shameful. Moreover, even views that no one in the West would call left are considered left here. That is the truth. Nevertheless, I do not believe it is my duty to exonerate the left wing. That is up to them and up to the press. I am not crazy about the division left-right-center. I am more concerned with the essence of the issue. The communists called me a right-winger; others believe me to be a left-winger. Maybe when Zeman comes to power I will be called a right-winger again. Basically, it does not matter to me how people classify me.

[MLADY SVET] Do any of the present opposition politicians appeal to you? Did any of their political acts attract your interest?

[Havel] I do not believe our opposition managed to attract general esteem or respect by its deeds or ideas. It is more of an attempt to reflect people's social concerns. It is seeking support in the idea that the state should take better care of people than the liberal concept proposes. At times, it is just a matter of populist topics; at others, it is justified. But, so far, the opposition has not grabbed the people with some charismatic concept. [passage omitted]

[MLADY SVET] It seems that the topic disappeared after the fall of communism. This is also testified to by your speeches. A long time ago, still as the president of Czechoslovakia, you indicated such a topic—the responsibility of people toward the entire planetary system that is being destroyed by their consumption-oriented society. Are you no longer concerned about consumerism?

[Havel] I have not been silent on this subject. Every month I hold a talk somewhere in the world in which I discuss precisely these problems. My speech usually attracts attention in the country in question, be it the United States, India, or Japan, and there is a long-lasting response abroad. They keep reminding me, for instance, of a speech I gave in Davos two or three years ago. I actually have the feeling that I delve into these issues

even more than before because I am no longer involved in the everyday squabbles. It sometimes escapes attention at home because the newspapers most often do not carry the full text of these speeches.

[MLADY SVET] Some people believe that there is a clash of two worlds—human rights versus natural rights, consumer society versus voluntary modesty, production growth versus permanently sustainable development. That is how these ideas are advocated in our country by the philosopher Kohak, for instance, the writer Vaculik, and the Brno group around the sociologist Keller. We feel that you have avoided this issue.

[Havel] I share this view, but everything has its limits. After all, whoever has read and analyzed my first address to the parliament after being elected Czech president must have noticed it. Its content also gave rise to a certain displeasure. It is clear to me that, at this stage, when the backward economy must be rebuilt, it would be rather clumsy to call for general modesty and preach that we do not need industry that much. We do. We have to become a country comparable with the advanced democratic states. From the very beginning, however, we should consider the general context. It is nonsense to say that we have to make money for ecology. It is nonsense to build a factory that pollutes the environment first and to buy filters when it makes money. It is necessary to force businessmen to always legislatively opt for the most ecologically sound of the available technologies. [passage omitted]

Army Changes Equipment Modernization Plans

AU1507101494 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 14 Jul 94 p 1

[Article by Jaroslav Kmenta: "The Reequipment Currently Being Carried Out by the Army Was Not Expected"]

[Text] Prague—Although it was generally expected that the Army would begin its reequipment, above all, with the modernization of the Soviet T-72 tank and other heavy equipment technology, its leadership has decided to give priority to modernizing the means of communication and providing reconnaissance with state-of-the-art technology.

Moreover, the confidential Army document that became the basis for establishing the priorities of Army modernization indicates that the Defense Ministry prioritizes antitank and air defense.

The Army officials point out in their material, however, that a shortage of funds is a serious obstacle to reequipment. To reach a standard of arms and technology that would make it possible for the Army to join the North Atlantic Alliance, the Czech Republic would have to invest 20 billion korunas [Kc] annually until 2005. This amount, then, approximately equals the total budget of the defense sector. This year, the Army was assigned from the budget about Kc1.5 billion korunas for investments—i.e., also for modernization. This sum is barely enough for two high-tech U.S. aircraft.

According to the aforementioned document, in the next few years the Army particularly wants to purchase antitank missile systems, of which it at present has only 415. The international treaties do not limit the quantity of this special equipment, so the Army plans to have 473 of these systems by the end of 1995.

On the other hand, according to Army analyses, no change is necessary in the passive radiotechnical reconnaissance means (the renowned Tamara and Borap reconnaissance systems), caterpillar combat personnel carriers, heavy vehicles, Tatra rigs, and training aircraft because the standard of their technical data is comparable to their equivalents in the armies of advanced countries.

Report on Mubarak-Havel News Conference

NC1407144194 Cairo MENA in Arabic 1310 GMT 14 Jul 94

[Text] Bratislava, 14 Jun (MENA)—President Husni Mubarak denied a report published by an Israeli newspaper saying that Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhaq Rabin refused to meet him in al-'Arish.

Speaking at a news conference held here today with Slovak President Michal Kovac following their talks in Bratislava, President Mubarak said: This report was published in the Israeli paper AL HAMISHMAR. It said I asked to meet Rabin but that he refused. No such thing happened. He added: There was an old idea before 'Arafat's visit to Gaza that a tripartite meeting involving Rabin, 'Arafat, and me should be held, but Rabin was busy at the time. But I did not ask Rabin to meet me in al-'Arish. This is not true. He said: There are no problems with meeting 'Arafat or Rabin when there is a need to do so.

Slovak President Michal Kovac spoke at the start of the news conference. He said: In my talks with President Mubarak, I stressed that this meeting marks the start of a new and unique stage in bilateral relations. He added: There were close bilateral relations in the past. Political and international changes have taken place requiring the establishment of strong ties between our countries.

Addressing President Mubarak, Slovak President Kovac said: We are happy you took the first step toward paving the way toward a new stage in bilateral relations. He added: We discussed the means of strengthening economic cooperation and agreed that we should not be content with this but let relations cover every field. We also discussed bilateral cooperation in the education and scientific research fields.

The Slovak president said: President Mubarak viewed current developments in the Middle East crisis. I was very eager to get acquainted with developments, especially Egyptian economic reforms and privatization programs.

President Mubarak spoke next. He said he was pleased with his current visit to the Republic of Slovakia. He said: We have long been used to strong bilateral relations since the time when the former Czechoslovakia was a united country. We are continuing to develop these relations. He added: We had to confront changes in the world, particularly economic changes, which are an important issue that concerns every country.

President Mubarak said he discussed several issues with the Slovak president, primarily cooperation in the economic and other fields because the economic situations in the two countries are similar; both Egypt and Slovakia are implementing privatization programs. He called on citizens to be patient because economic reforms cannot take place overnight. He stressed his desire to continue to cooperate with Slovakia. He said: I seize this opportunity to invite the president of Slovakia to visit Egypt.

Asked whether the talks also dealt with the purchase of weapons from Slovakia, President Mubarak said: I believe that questions should deal with trade exchange and other issues. Military issues are not discussed here. We are living in the age of peace, and such issues are not discussed unless it is necessary to do so.

Asked about joint Egyptian-Slovak projects, President Mubarak said: I discussed several issues with the Slovak president. There is an opportunity to achieve cooperation in this field. Commenting on the same question, President Kovac said: We discussed the possibility of establishing joint projects in the Middle East.

Asked about building the infrastructure in Gaza and international aid to achieve this, President Mubarak said: The international community has promised the Palestinians to finance several basic important projects. He stressed that the financing of these projects is very important, especially after Palestinian president Yasir 'Arafat's return to Gaza, because the masses there are facing problems concerning education, food, and health. And there are other projects the Palestinian masses need. He added: The international community's failure to fulfill its financial commitment to Palestinian self-rule will create another catastrophe. We will regret this because we will be going back a further 20 years and will suffer much when we start anew.

On joint projects between Egypt and Slovakia, President Mubarak said: We completed discussing agreements several days ago—that is, before my current visit to Slovakia. There are proposals to conclude bilateral trade agreements and joint projects. He added: We are looking to conclude a double taxation prevention agreement and toward establishing cooperation between the two countries' businessmen.

Commenting on this, President Kovac proposed setting up joint Egyptian-Slovak projects in the self-rule areas of Gaza and Jericho, particularly in the area of infrastructure, in addition to providing some educational systems and training for Palestinian cadres.

'New Stage' in Relations

LD1407131994 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1000 GMT 14 Jul 94

[Text] Egyptian President Muhammad Husni Mubarak, who, at the invitation of Slovak President Michal Kovac, arrived for an official visit to Slovakia yesterday, started his program at 0900. After the welcoming ceremony at Bratislava's Primate Square, the two presidents met for official talks.

Afterward, they briefed journalists on the contents of the talks. Editor Agata Stanekova reports:

[Stanekova] President Michal Kovac said at today's news conference about the talks with Egyptian President Husni Mubarak that he had tried to stress the significance of his visit to Slovakia. It is opening a new stage in bilateral relations. Significant changes had taken place in

the world recently, which, naturally, created the prerequisites for extensive possibilities. Slovak President Michal Kovac went on to say:

[Begin Kovac recording] We talked in detail about the possibilities that exist in the economic sphere, but we did not dwell on that because we know that to build good, friendly relations requires contacts in other spheres as well. That is why we also talked about possibilities in the spheres of culture, education, science and technology, and others. I was briefed in detail on what stage of development the current peace process in the Middle East had reached. [end recording]

[Stanekova] Mubarak stressed the similarity of the two states' economies. In this connection, he said that people must be patient because economic problems cannot be solved in one day. The Egyptian president thus stressed the fact that the Slovak president was an economist—a former banker—and that is why he thought our economy was in good hands. Egypt is interested in continuing cooperation, and, on this occasion, Mubarak invited the Slovak president to visit Egypt. He went on to say:

[Begin Mubarak recording in English fading to Slovak translation] After so many changes that have taken place all over the world, we must change ourselves. Our economies mainly have to change. This is a significant question that has priority all over the world. [end recording]

Egyptian Foreign Minister on Sanctions on Iraq

NC1407163094 Cairo MENA in Arabic 1555 GMT 14 Jul 94

[Excerpts] Bratislava, 14 Jul (MENA)—Foreign Minister 'Amr Musa has stated that President Mubarak's visit to Slovakia, which started today, will mark a new stage in cooperation between Egypt and Slovakia. He said the visit is the first by President Mubarak to Slovakia and takes place during a period of change in the two countries, which are moving from the private to the public sector.

In his news conference with Slovak Foreign Minister Eduard Kukan today, Musa said the talks between Presidents Mubarak and Kovac focused on means to strengthen bilateral cooperation, adding that several agreements were signed between them. [passage omitted]

As for sanctions imposed on Iraq, Musa said they cannot last forever. He said the major step of lifting them will come after Iraq recognizes the sovereignty and independence of Kuwait in implementation of the Security Council resolutions.

Musa expressed the hope that this will be achieved very soon. He pointed out that Egypt supports anything that might alleviate the suffering of the Iraqi people.

On Egypt's stance on the Bosnia problem, Foreign Minister 'Amr Musa said Egypt condemns the Serbian aggression and demands that racial discrimination stop. He stressed that Egypt supported the European plan, which the Bosnian Government declared it accepted. The Serbs rejected it. [passage omitted]

Journalist, SNS Criticize U.S. Rights Report

AU1407160794 Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak 13 Jul 94 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Who Is Sullying Slovakia and Why? Disinformation Campaign by U.S. Human Rights Organization"]

[Text] Former Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar's mass media policy was an assault on the basic principles of a free press, states a new report prepared by the U.S. human rights organization Human Rights Watch/Helsinki (HRW/H). According to the HRW/H, Meciar's policy damaged the civic society, threatened the transition to democracy, and damaged Slovakia's reputation abroad. Meciar used state institutions as his own personal weapon in the war against the opposition. As far as radio is concerned, the HRW/H writes that changes in state broadcasts resulted in a situation in which Radio Free Europe remained the sole independent source of radio news. Under Meciar, Slovakia had a broad range of newspapers, which were relatively free, the HRW/H writes. However, the government restricted, for example, access to news conferences and ministers. Journalists were prosecuted under Articles 102 and 103 of the Penal Code, which ban defamation of the Republic, the government, the Constitutional Court, and the president. According to the HRW/H, these articles pose a serious threat to freedom of speech, in general, and press freedom, in particular. They jeopardize the right of individuals to receive ideas without government interference, according to the HRW/H, and violate the International Convention on Civil and Political Rights, to which Slovakia is a signatory.

Statement by the Association of Slovak Journalists

The specter that Slovakia really wants to govern itself without tutors of the totalitarian type "is again haunting Europe." The "irrational" Slovak voter is again about to elect political representatives who express his will and to reject politicians who are more concerned about keeping posts with which they had been rewarded for services rendered.

What perturbs us, however, is that our citizens will clearly ascribe this report, which is full of lies and disinformation, to official U.S. policy, which, through these producers of resolutions and reports, is beginning to appear in the eyes of the Slovak public as a protector of political teams, just as totalitarian Moscow did for more than 40 years. We believe that U.S. policy, the U.S. Administration, and the U.S. Congress should halt these adventurers from all kinds of unnamed sources and falsifiers of the true sentiments and beliefs of the citizens of the Slovak Republic. Recently, not only have these manipulators of "reports" been engaged in this activity

but also numerous politicians who, after returning from visits to the United States, interpret in their own way the decency, the hospitality of their reception, and the generosity of U.S. policy and diplomacy toward Slovakia. At home they interpret this attitude of the U.S. Administration and diplomacy as support for their own political image or even as a blessing for their own political grouping. This is a dangerous game.

Invented resolutions, reports full of wrath and hatred, and lies backed by the legitimacy of the U.S. voice are endangering the historical democratic heritage of U.S. policy and diplomacy. By spreading lies and slander about Slovakia, they create a dangerous framework for present and future relations with the United States. Our association is determined to protect these values precisely for the sake of the present and future development of our friendly relations. Guided by this idea, we have repeatedly drawn attention also to some news and current affairs programs of Radio Free Europe [RFE] written by some of its collaborators from Slovakia—regrettably, to no avail. Representatives of the RFE management do not sufficiently verify the "works" of these authors in terms of their professionalism and objectivity of journalism.

We call on the U.S. Administration, the U.S. Congress, and the U.S. diplomatic mission in the Slovak Republic to take steps to halt this disinformation lunacy, which could permanently damage the relations of Slovaks in the United States, as well as relations between the Slovak Republic and the United States.

Statement by the Slovak National Party [SNS]

The U.S. human rights organization Human Rights Watch/Helsinki, which has given the public fabricated, discriminatory, and completely misleading information about antidemocratic and totalitarian practices of the previous government in relation to the mass media, is responsible for the latest act of defamation of our Republic. It is not without interest that this happened at a time when Slovakia is getting ready for parliamentary elections, in which voters will decide in favor of Slovakia and in favor of people who really hold dear the future fate of our young state.

The SNS calls on the diplomatic mission of the United States in the Slovak Republic to make use of its influence and to help halt the spreading of disinformation about Slovakia, which could very seriously damage relations between the United States and the Slovak Republic.

MKDH: Signpost Law Acceptable Compromise

AU1407162194 Bratislava SME in Slovak 13 Jul 94 p 3

[Article by "(dos)": "Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement: The Signpost Law—An Acceptable Compromise"]

[Text] Bratislava—The Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement [MKDH] greatly appreciates the course of action adopted by the coalition partners toward the signpost law. This statement was made yesterday by MKDH Deputies' Club Chairman P. Csaky at a press briefing. He added that he is not completely satisfied with the signpost law but that he considers it to be an acceptable compromise and a victory for political propriety in parliament. Csaky sees in this a guarantee for the Hungarian coalition's further cooperation with Slovak democratic forces. The MKDH will not support the proposal by Deputy J. Luptak to hold a referendum on providing documentation on the origin of the money used in privatization. It considers the envisaged retroactivity of the documentation of the money to be the fundamental problem. The MKDH does not think it would be suitable for parliament to discuss a draft law on anti-Horthyite resistance before the elections. In connection with the negotiations on a tripartite coalition of Hungarian parties and Egyutteles reservations against certain Hungarian Civic Party members, Csaky said that the MKDH has never been in favor of screening its political partners.

KSU Head Says Party Situation 'Under Control'

AU1407140294 Bratislava SME in Slovak 12 Jul 94 p 3

[Article by "(si)": "Christian Social Union: Is the Conflict Just a Storm in a Teacup?"]

[Text] Bratislava—Christian Social Union [KSU] Chairman Jan Klepac, supported by Deputy Chairman Viliam Oberhauser and Presidium Member Anton Andras, has described the current conflict within the party as insignificant. One of its initiators, Ivan Tirpak, has already resigned from the Presidium, and two others, Marian Kapusta and Jozef Luptak, have been recalled from it. According to the KSU chairman, the other three will "either give in or resign in the near future." They have only managed to obtain minimal support in five of the 42 districts. This became evident on 9 July, when only a conference came out of the attempt to convene a KSU Nationwide Council. Jan Klepac said: "I have the situation fully under control" and added that "the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia, the Slovak National Party, and the Christian Democratic Movement will steal the KSU's votes. It may be in the interest of all three entities to eliminate the KSU. The KSU has a program that should deliver something for Slovakia; no other political party has such a program." In reply to a question from SME on whether this self-confidence is justified given the low level of electoral support for the party and for whom it will recommend its supporters to vote in the event of its envisaged collapse, V. Oberhauser said that "forfeiting votes is a grossly misleading form of demagoguery."

Poll: Support for DU-NDS-DS-SPZ Coalition

AU1407192194 Bratislava SME in Slovak 12 Jul 94 p 2

[Article by "dos": "Democratic Union, National Democratic Party, Democratic Party, and Party of Entrepreneurs and Tradesmen Voters Tend To Favor a Coalition"]

[Text] Bratislava—A total of 28.4 percent of those polled by the FOCUS agency in late June/early July expect the situation to improve after the elections, 9.9 percent expect it to deteriorate, and 53.3 percent do not expect any changes. The greatest optimism is displayed by voters of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] (43 percent of whom assume that the elections will bring a change for the better), the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] (42 percent), and the Hungarian coalition (43 percent). The most pessimistic in relation to the elections are voters of the Association of Workers of Slovakia [ZRS], only 8 percent of whom expect a change for the better after the elections.

As representatives of the FOCUS agency informed reporters yesterday, in the last survey they were investigating, apart from the preferences of independently running entities and already existing coalitions, preferences for coalitions, the formation of which is still possible. In practical terms, this concerned the addition of the Hungarian Civic Party [MOS] to the already existing coalition of the Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement [MKDH] and Coexistence and the formation of a four-member coalition consisting of the Democratic Union [DU], the National Democratic Party [NDS], the Democratic Party [DS], and the Party of Entrepreneurs and Tradesmen [SPZ]. While the two-member Hungarian coalition received 8 percent and the independently running MOS 0.7 percent, the coalition of all three Hungarian parties was endorsed by 8.3 percent of respondents. The DU-NDS-DS-SPZ coalition would, with its 15.9 percent, become the second-strongest grouping after the HZDS, along with the left-wing coalition. The survey at the same time showed that this coalition would be accepted by 80 percent of DU-NDS voters and 78 percent of DS-SPZ voters.

On the basis of the results of the FOCUS survey, the chairmen of the political parties can be divided into two groups—those who are regarded as the most trustworthy politicians by more than 50 percent of their party's voters and those trusted by fewer than 50 percent. The strongest positions among the voters of their own party are held by Vladimir Meciar (who is trusted by 84 percent of HZDS voters), Jozef Moravcik (trusted by 71 percent of DU voters), Peter Weiss (62 percent of voters of the left-wing coalition), Vojtech Bugar (57 percent of voters of the two-member Hungarian coalition), and Jan Carnogursky (51 percent of KDH voters). The second group is made up of Jan Luptak (38 percent of ZRS voters), Miklos Duray (19 percent of voters of the two-member Hungarian coalition), Jan Slota (17 percent of Slovak National Party [SNS] voters), and Pavol Hagyari (8 percent of DS-SPZ voters).

According to FOCUS's calculations, if the outcome of the elections correspond to the respondents' replies to the question about possible coalitions, the National Council of the Slovak Republic will be as follows: HZDS—43 deputies; Party of the Democratic Left-Social Democratic Party in Slovakia-Green Party in Slovakia-Farmers Movement—26 deputies; DU-NDS-DS-SPZ—26 deputies; KDH—15 deputies; MKDH-Coexistence-MOS—14 deputies; ZRS—14 deputies; SNS—12 deputies.

SPZ Advocates Broader Center-Right Coalition

AU1407160694 Bratislava SME in Slovak 13 Jul 94 p 3

[Article by "(rk)": "Party of Entrepreneurs and Businessmen: If There Is No Coalition, We Will Enter the Elections Independently"]

[Text] Bratislava—We have a mandate to negotiate on a coalition but not on a place on the right-wing bloc's slate. In the event that a coalition does not materialize, we will enter the elections independently, said Vladimir Randa, chairman of the Party of Entrepreneurs and Businessmen [SPZ], at a press briefing held yesterday. According to him, the increasing popularity of the SPZ's policy has also been confirmed by recent polls, in which it achieved 7.1 percent of support in a bloc with the Democratic Party [DS]. The SPZ also declared in a statement that the party would like, by its future steps, to help restore trust in the reasons for the negotiations on a possible joint course of action by the parties to the right of center, whereby an open coalition of the Democratic Union, the DS, the National Democratic Party, and the SPZ would be acceptable to the majority of citizens. Randa said that the SPZ would wait for the outcome of the DS congress on 16 July and will adopt a point of view according to them. Possible negotiations on a broader coalition would, however, have to begin next week because the lists of candidates have to be submitted on 1 August, he said.

Official Views 'Democratization' in Army

AU1407184894 Bratislava SME in Slovak 13 Jul 94 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Major General Andrej Sabol, state secretary at the Ministry of Defense, by Boris Koren; place and date not given: "The Existence of a 'Democratic Army' Is Nonsense"]

[Text] The process of democratization of individual structures of society after 1989 could not bypass the armed forces—the army and the police. Although the process of coming to terms with the communist past will still take a long time, and the quest for a "new image" is far from being over, the Army and the police are no longer secret organizations set apart from the life of society, arousing fear rather than trust. In our conditions, the Army has over the past few years even "earned" extraordinary confidence among citizens, compared with other institutions.

[Koren] To what extent has the process of democratization of society affected the Army, and how do you evaluate its present situation from this point of view?

[Sabol] The existence of a "democratic army" is nonsense. There can only be the army of a democratic state, which is a qualitative difference. Democratization can reach only a certain level in the army. It can apply to relations among individual categories of career soldiers and, partly, to the army's internal life. However, this must not lead to a situation in which orders are not carried out. The military organism needs at all levels someone to command it and to demand resolutely that orders are obeyed. The education of soldiers is therefore regulated differently from civilian institutions. The army must educate patriots, who, in case of danger, will be ready to sacrifice their lives for the defense of their country. Such an approach has no place in any other component of a democratic society.

[Koren] One of the processes taking place in the armies of democratic countries is their partial "civilianization'-'—that is, the filling of many organizational and service posts in the army with civilian employees. How does our Army command approach this idea?

[Sabol] We are favorably disposed toward this, and many posts, including important ones, at the Ministry of Defense itself are today held by civilians. However, a problem that is closely related to this is that of preparedness for the execution of such posts. I believe that our military schools will have to do plenty of work in this respect to be able to retrain and prepare people comprehensively for civilian posts in the Army. If we had enough qualified people today, two-thirds of the Defense Ministry staff could be civilians.

As regards services for the Army, in Western armies these are done to a large extent by civilian bodies. Here, too, the problem lies in their preparedness. At the same time, however, we must take into account the potential situation of a threat to our country. The question of the ability of such a "civilian service organization" to fulfill its assignment in the event of a threat or a conflict is a complicated one.

[Koren] One of the fundamental requirements expected of the army in a democratic society is its depoliticization. In our conditions, it took the form of an "order by the federal minister of defense," but former longstanding members of the Communist Party continue to hold important posts. Basically, all higher-ranking officers were members of the communist party. Is it at all possible to speak about an apolitical army, given this situation?

[Sabol] The army must not be apolitical; it must be above party affairs. Every patriot is "political." Patriotism is one's attitude toward this country and this nation, toward natural, cultural, and historical values created by this nation over millennia. A soldier must carry out all the legitimate decisions of the state leadership. For the Army to be above party affairs, it must not be the army of one party. We no longer have this today. Even though many members of the former communist party continue to be active in the Army, their present conduct and professionalism must be assessed through the prism of their specific work. We consistently see to it that the Army is above party affairs. I am not aware that there are any problems at any workplace with the activation of any political party. If a member of the Army engages in such activity outside the workplace, outside the training compound, as a citizen, this is a different matter. Such problems must be dealt with by the armies of all democratic countries. A soldier must not be politically organized, but, as citizen, he has the right to become involved in political life.

[Koren] When we speak about the Army being above party affairs, we cannot dodge the issue of the screening law. Plenty of information has appeared in the press about the screening law not being consistently observed. What is the situation like in the Army?

[Sabol] Certainly, all kinds of criticism are heard. It needs to be said that we do receive anonymous letters with regard to this issue, but most of them are at the level of general accusations. Personally, I do not know of a single case of nonobservance of this law in the Army. Screenings in the Army have taken place, and no one has the right today to call into question the screening certificates received at that time by commanders and holders of offices.

[Koren] Civilian control of the Army is inseparable from a democratic society. Some time ago, we rejected the establishment of the post of Army Inspector General. What possibilities of control of the Army by parliament and the public does our legislation offer?

[Sabol] The parliament has a Committee for Petitions, Legal Protection, and Security Affairs, whose obligations make up parliamentary control of the Army. We collaborate closely with this committee. I believe that the foundations for parliamentary control have been laid, and they need to be developed into a certain process. It is necessary to find a mutually advantageous mechanism because the task of the so-called defense and security affairs committees cannot be only to control. They should also support the legitimate demands of the Army vis-a-vis the budget, the government, and the legislature.

[Koren] Traditionally, the citizen's attitude toward the Army is not very good in our country. This is also indicated by the attempts by many young people to dodge their military service. How does the Army intend to change this situation, which is not favorable for it?

[Sabol] According to statistics, the citizens' trust in the Army as an institution is very high. The Army is even among those institutions that command the citizens' greatest trust, a fact we greatly appreciate. The reluctance to do military service is not a problem for only the Slovak Army. There is much talk about the Army's professionalization in this context. I welcome this idea, but, as a soldier, I must say that Slovakia's position is not good in this respect. Each of Slovakia's neighbors has at least twice as large a population, from which it clearly transpires that a regular professional army alone is not

capable of meeting all of the tasks required in terms of its readiness to defend the country. Therefore, we must think about a system of preparing the population for the defense of their country and dealing with critical situations that may arise. For the time being, we see this system also in basic military service compulsory under the law. Military service also entails the training of reserves. Here it is necessary to admit that, for certain reasons, we have not carried out this training on a sufficient scale over the past few years and will have to return to this issue. In this regard, I view Switzerland, where the attitude toward military service and military exercises is very positive, as a model for us. There people identify with the inevitability of military service and military exercises for the defense of the country.

Europe and the world have not yet reached a stage where any sovereign state can do without an army. Every citizen must therefore approach this problem honestly and acknowledge that, in spite of all of the shortcomings existing today, military service is an integral part of the system of education of the male citizen of this country. It is his right as well as his duty. In the future, it will be necessary to deepen and improve, in particular, the educational role of the Army under the new democratic conditions of the life of our society.

Prime Minister-Designate Presents Program

LD1407122194 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0719 GMT 14 Jul 94

[Address by Prime Minister designate Gyula Horn to National Assembly—live]

[Excerpts] Esteemed National Assembly, ladies and gentlemen: There has hardly been in this country a prime ministerial expose in which the new head of government did not describe the moment when he took office as an historic moment. We should break with this bad practice. [passage omitted]

I now turn most of all to the millions of voters, Hungarian citizens. I thank them for the trust they have placed in us.

I greet the new deputies. [passage omitted]

I hail the cooperation of the two coalition parties, the political and professional process which enabled this coalition agreement to be reached. Those who participated in this process found this a valuable exercise, even from a purely personal point of view.

I think it extraordinary significant that the first Socialist-Liberal government in Hungary is about to be formed. This coalition has been forged from the two sets of ideas and the practical political systems of a long European tradition. It is a coalition which commands a 72 percent majority in parliament.

Although our political opponents may well find that it does not pay politically to use us to scare the people, some, who cannot free themselves from this habit, keep asking whether this large majority will lead to dictatorship.

Our reply to this is that in a multiparty parliament which has been freely and democratically elected, the process of governing does not mean a dictatorship but is the fulfillment of a responsible task—the implementation of the will of the electorate. [passage omitted]

A ministerial report is used by every incoming government to inform the public about the legacy it has inherited. Such reports usually paint a dark picture and show the burdens to be greater than they really are. I would like to break with this practice too. I can do so because the voters have given their judgment on the past four years. [passage omitted: need to end tradition of incoming government damning the outgoing one]

Still, I express my respect for the outgoing government for two reasons. First, because it fulfilled its task in successfully organizing the 1994 parliamentary elections, and second because, although it was responsible for creating many unnecessary tensions in society, there is still a peaceful state of affairs in our homeland.

We must not forget that one man played an outstanding role in this, a man who was anointed to become a politician by the change of regime, a man whose decency, steadfastness in his principles, and personal courage have made him such a respected figure. I speak of Arpad Goncz, president of the Hungarian Republic. [applause]

The independent press and the four-year-long work of the opposition have also played a significant role in maintaining a peaceful (?state of affairs) in the country. [passage omitted: analyzing the past is for historians]

Our government wishes to address not the past but the practical issues of the present. We are searching to find our own answers to the vital issues of the country by analyzing the situation of Hungary. [passage omitted: meaningless to debate whether Nemeth government was worse than the Boross one]

Our government program acknowledged that it is reality itself which determines our possibilities, and therefore our wishes must be adjusted to our means. I do not want to burden citizens with figures, but it is my duty to put to you the most important factors in the country's situation, because only when these are known is it possible to understand what this coalition is undertaking to deal with and why it is asking for society's understanding and support. [passage omitted]

The government program submitted here provides a comprehensive picture of the country's economic and social situation and gives you with the main features of the proposed government policies.

It is clear from the government program that the country is in a critical financial and economic situation. This is indicated by the fact that Hungary is struggling against the burden of a enormous state debt which almost equals the value of the country's GNP for one year. The 1994 budget deficit has swelled to such an extent that financing it from domestic resources is virtually inconceivable. What is more, the government must fulfill its obligation to pay the compensation it has accepted during the past four years and which amounts to more than 300 billion forints.

A further burden is the payment obligation of state guarantees stemming from domestic and foreign undertakings which amounts to more than 200 billion forints.

Not can we forget that the previous parliament undertook to support the self-governing social insurance bodies with liquid assets and income. [passage omitted] We are talking about approximately 300 billion forints in this respect.

Our situation is further aggravated by the fall in exports and by the result of this—a worsening in the balance of payments which has continued since the start of 1993.

It follows from all this that the country is drifting toward a very dangerous situation from a financial and economic point of view.

It is also part of the picture that in the past four years the country's external indebtedness has become even

greater. As a consequence, the country's debt-servicing obligation will increase from 1995.

The question is whether the Hungarian economy is able to meet these very serious burdens through its own performance. In my judgment, in its present state it is unable to do so.

Industrial performance in the past four years has continually worsened, the modernization which had been so much expected has not begun, investments are stagnating, Hungarian industry is losing markets both at home and abroad. [passage omitted: criticism of past government's privatization and agricultural policy]

After all this, it is justified to ask who will shoulder the extra burdens which our serious financial obligations impose on us. Well, ladies and gentlemen, in the past four years it was the overwhelming majority of the people—wage earners, the young, and the pensioners who shouldered the greatest part of the burdens of transforming the regime. This is indicated by the fact that between 1990 and 1994 nearly 1 million jobs ceased to exist, and for the time being many people do not even have a hope of getting a job. Real incomes in the same period significantly decreased, the population's resources available for spending on food, culture, and education dropped by more than 25 percent. The cost of education places a greater and greater burden each year on families. A sad situation has developed in respect of the living circumstances of pensioners on low pensions. We are virtually reaching a stage where even ordinary medicines become unaffordable for them.

The country's impoverishment is quite evident from all this. [passage omitted]

In addition, we are also aware that there may be further unpleasant surprises in store for us in addition to the problems I have just outlined. After all, only after it has taken office will the new government be in a position to prepare a creditable stock of the country's real situation. The government program before you formulates the possible answers and solutions to the problems and challenges known by us. In the supplementary budget we will have to address even more factors and problems during the autumn.

We wish to fulfill two endeavors through the tasks outlined in the program: to prevent the crisis from deepening further—in other words, to consolidate the economic and financial situation—and at the same time to make the population's living circumstances more tolerable.

Esteemed National Assembly, the principal way of solving the economic and financial problems is to prepare a complex plan of measures encompassing the entire economy. The new government program represents the framework for this.

I consider the following tasks of the program particularly important: stabilization of the financial situation; a privatization policy which will have a new approach; the modernization of the economy; the possible saving of jobs and the creation of workplaces; an enterprise-friendly economic policy which encourages investments and which creates the long term conditions for effective management; a more intensive involvement of foreign capital, especially in road building, telecommunications, regional development, and in other areas. I also consider it important to create new markets, regain a proportion of the East European markets, and protect the domestic economy, in accordance with GATT prescriptions.

Everything that will be done to strengthen the morality of public life will be an important source of strength for us. The government considers society's demands for a reduction of corruption to be justified, and it will fight against abuses, because we could learn a lot from the recent scandalous cases.

We will pay special attention to privatization decisions because, after all, huge assets are at risk. The government will be resolute in stopping the squandering of, and living off, the nation's wealth. Therefore, it will make the privatization decision-making process as open as possible and provide the means for parliamentary control of privatization. We must declare war on the various forms of entwining of offices held by a single individual, the hoarding of posts in supervisory bodies and on boards of directors. Immoral behavior which casts a shadow on political life must be stopped. People are justified in calling for the establishment of a political life in which not even the shade of corruption lingers in the offices of authorities.

It is our firm stand that through self-regulatory measures it is the representatives of the political authorities which must, first of all, show an example for cleaning public life. I believe we must consider whether it is right for a parliamentary deputy to be a member of the board of directors or supervisory body of a firm in which the state owns a majority of the shares.

We must amend the law on severance payments. Originally their purpose was to provide a temporary living for dismissed persons. We want to keep this provision. However, we consider the practice of giving lump sum payments amounting to many millions of forints to be unacceptable. [passage omitted: incompetent people often given civil servant contracts] We want a cheaper administration and a cheaper state.

The government will review the number of employees in the state apparatus, without having any intention of cleansing it whatsoever. It is our resolute view that significant savings can be achieved by closing unnecessary offices. In a country where most of the population live in poverty, the parliament and the government must not play the rich lord.

It may be justified to ask whether a society undergoing a process of impoverishment is able to embark on a modernization which the government program sets out as a strategic task. We reply with a firm yes in our

program and have formulated detailed answers, but all these can prevail only under certain conditions. Let me single out two of the most important of these, which we stressed most emphatically even during the election campaign—social reconciliation, and the need for national unity.

In order to establish the coalition, it was necessary—on both sides—to put aside those reservations, suspicions and, on occasion, hurts which accumulated in the past. The two governing parties therefore possess the moral ground to argue that it would be rational by now to stop the so-called policy of hurts in the entire country. Naturally, this would not conceal the fact that there are differences of views, of thinking, and of values, for we live in a multiparty democracy where the citizens can choose between values, ideologies, and programs.

However, the citizens have not given us a mandate to grind to dust each other's strength and credibility in useless disputes which are often personal and unprincipled. Our mandate is to find solutions by weighing of the many different kind of views. The country's population has had enough of discord, disputes, tension- building, ostracism, hatred-fanning; it has enough worries as it is.

Let me add something here. Barely a month ago Erzsebet Nagy and I laid wreaths on the memorial to the martyrs of 1956, including the late prime minister, Imre Nagy. I paid tribute there to the memory of my own brother who also fell victim to 1956.

I believe that all obstacles setting us against each other or dividing us as a result of history, human destiny, or human failings must be removed. What impels me to this belief is my intention to pay respect, to offer an apology, and achieve a frank reconciliation. [applause] Social reconciliation is especially important, because the coming four years will be a huge joint undertaking, and it is this for which we must find the bases. We must find the identical or at least compatible values and interests of the most diverse groups of society.

Therefore the new government calls on employers' and employees' organizations to reach an economic and social accord. The program will ask for the views, work, and support of every association and civic organization.

Without social reconciliation there can be no economic-social agreement, and without this modernization is impossible. This agreement is also aims to start developing an institutional system of social partnership.

There is no historical precedent in Hungary for the system of social partnership. However, it has proved successful in developed countries, and it performs an indispensable role in reconciling the market impacts with social interests. In the political sense this means that decisions about issues determining the living conditions of the overwhelming majority of society are made with a consensus, and they are supported.

As the representative of a left-wing party which is forming a government, I emphasize that in the future we will continue to build a market economy. However, we cannot allow the phenomena of wild capitalism to push most of society into an unworthy situation.

We do not have to travel far to see that where there is no social reconciliation for various reasons, serious political conflicts emerge. These sometimes lead to civil wars, and in that case all attempts to catch up and modernize become impossible. Indeed, the nationalist passions which are aroused give rise to views which people wish to share out on a religious or racial basis. Such views have appeared in our country too.

We did not seek reconciliation with these, and we believe that in a healthier political atmosphere social dangers can be averted by means of laws which ban incitement on grounds of race, religion, and nationality. The election result showed that the level-headed majority of our people reject the political groupings which represent these views.

Esteemed fellow deputies, according to certain observers who are not entirely impartial, the new government will fall either because it will not meet expectations concerning the standard of living and security of existence, or because it will meet these but without an economic agreement.

My conviction is that the government program will show a way out of this dilemma. Obviously, we will not be able to gain impetus, we will not be able to extricate ourselves from the economic setback which has lasted for one and a half decades, without considerable self-restraint.

As a target, the social market economy does not, unfortunately, mean that general prosperity can be created in Hungary by the end of the term of government. However, we can halt any further deterioration.

Therefore, the new government's strategic objective is to consistently implement the modernization process, and this can be ensured by consolidating the social market economy, the institutions and operational system of the democratic legal state. We will do all of this. However, the government cannot promise an easy transition free of sacrifices. The intention to preserve trust and support cannot deter it from taking the difficult steps pledged in the program, and which will have a serious impact.

Trust would be undermined, rather, if the population were to experience hesitancy, rumination over false issues, or political meandering, if the government were not seen to wish to overcome the difficulties in the framework of a system, and if in the wake of all this, it the population did not discover in the government's actions the possibilities for its own prosperity.

We wish to create the foundations for lasting improvement, and we will devote all our attention and efforts to laying the foundations for this, since it was for this is that we obtained the mandate from the overwhelming

majority of voters. Perhaps there are some who reproach us by saying that, like our predecessors, we are asking for sacrifices, patience, and understanding. Yes, that is so. However, we believe that our program will be implemented and that it will reap its result.

It is a good feeling to know that this is believed by the millions of citizens who are informed, who voted as they did, not on the basis of their mood, but on the basis of their experience and information.

Let me briefly explain and interpret what we call national unity. We take it as a point of departure that nobody can expropriate the nation. In this respect it is absurd to claim that this coalition, which represents the overwhelming majority of the electorate, is not a national one. I think it is in the interest of the nation to forge unity with the huge masses of people living on wages and salaries, in other words, with the world of labor.

Let me use a quote to back up the truth of this stand. Work is the key to the whole social question. Just labor relations promote the development of a human being's personality from all aspects. Work enjoys priority over capital. Entrepreneurs must keep the public good in their sights before anything. Well, this quote is not from Karl Marx or Willy Brandt but from a Vatican document adopted recently.

Now I would like to speak to those who are either owners already or will become ones. It is worth thinking about the Germans' attitude to money. From their profits they first develop their business, then their homes, then they make their street pretty, then their cities—in other words, on the whole they enrich their country and thus themselves.

We see it as a national cause to ensure that children do not starve in school, but also that talented young people and scientists should be able to find prosperity in Hungary too. We should respect writers, artistes, teachers, and all public employees and entrepreneurs in the field of culture. The work of the Socialist- Liberal government in the field of culture will not be a state- directed culture, steeped in national conceit, but will be characterized by a democratic spirit, encouragement, supportiveness, and responsibility. It will not turn its back on culture, but will do what is incumbent on it to do in accordance with good domestic traditions and modern international experiences. That also applies to the unreserved provision of the freedom of the printed and electronic media, to the urgent submission of the media bill, and to the resolution of the passion-ridden conflicts in radio and television.

For the government, and for me personally, it is very important that democracy should open the way for everyone to exercise his religion. The government does not discriminate between believers and nonbelievers, or between different types of belief. As far as the government is concerned, the beliefs of all faiths are respected in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution on freedom of conscience and religion. Differences of views between religious denominations—be these ideological or other kinds—are not going to be interfered with by the government. We do not intend to intervene even indirectly. By churches we mean all churches and religious denominations.

We will not allow the nationalities living in our country to be excluded from the concept of national unity. I would like to explain here why we who live here in the area wreathed by the Carpathian mountains and in the area of the Danube and the Tisza rivers cannot be chauvinists, blind nationalists. The reason is that in this region the peoples and the nationals have mixed since time began.

Nobody can doubt the Hungarians' ability to assimilate and transmit values representing their attractiveness or their talent for ensuring the survival of the nation which has also gained strength through this ability. Germans, Slovaks, Gypsies, Serbs, Croats, Jews, Ruthenes, and others are completely justified in viewing this country as their homeland. The talent, industry, and the many hues of their different being is inseparable from what we consider as a universal value.

Therefore, the government considers it impermissible for anybody driven by adventurist or hatred-fanning ideas to take a stand against them, to humiliate, or exclude them from Hungarian society.

According to our means, we will support the nationality culture, education, and the publication of books and newspapers. The government will also pay appropriate attention to the communal organizations of nationalities.

National unity will remain an empty slogan, however, if we do not include those who are either not yet or no longer active workers. Children will not have another childhood, and therefore we are as much responsible for this childhood of theirs as for their future. We must provide young people as carefully as possible—and within our means as quickly as possible—the chance to start a career. We must do everything to ease the problems of the elderly. While we are ready, in accordance to our means, to pass laws and measures to improve the living standards of pensioners, in other words of about one third of the adult population, we must realize that even their public mood does not depend solely on material considerations. We must not consider old people as second-class citizens. They deserve respect in all spheres of life. I speak not only of our parents and godparents but also the parents and godparents of others too.

Ladies and gentlemen, strengthening citizens' trust in the judicial system might become a source of strength for us. By reforming procedures we must speed up of the way cases are dealt with, because cases or trials can take an intolerably long time to settle.

I must also mention the extent to which public safety has worsened in recent years. The government wishes to deal with this in a specially focussed fashion. It will start, without delay, the drafting and implementation of a comprehensive crime prevention program. It wishes to place special emphasis on reducing the violent and economic crimes and cases of corruption.

We must pay great attention to preventing juveniles and groups from drifting onto the periphery of society by committing crimes, and must halt the spread of organized crime. We must ensure as soon as possible that at every settlement of the country, anybody can walk the street without fear at any hour of the day.

We must realize, however, that the severity of the social situation is the yardstick and even the source of the lack of public safety. When we endeavor to improve living standards, we fulfill not only a very important economic and social task but also a very important political objective too. For it is deteriorating living conditions which provide the breeding ground for extremists, actions and views which increase tensions within the country and between groups of people.

Our program formulates numerous measures for maintaining and improving the health of citizens. But the state of people's general mood and the condition of their health is also a national affair.

When a car accident landed me in hospital in fairly serious condition not long ago, I not only arrived at the line that divides life from death but I also came to see how defenseless the sick person is. And I saw at close hand the overworked doctors, the exhausted nurses, who perform their work [word indistinct] out of a sense of calling. Also on this occasion, from this place too, I would like to say thank you to them.

Speaking about my personal affairs, let me make one more small digression. A lot of names were given to the contraption which I had to wear for some weeks. There were a good many witty remarks and some cartoons also saw the light of day. Indeed, they were not all indulgent toward me. However, I felt I should take it as a mark of respect even if they deal humorously with a politician.

It might seem irrelevant, but in my view the kind of attitude a politician has toward public life, humor included, is important. It is important to appreciate that even a person who has not had it up to the ears can like HOCIPO [satirical magazine]. I believe that a politician who can only tolerate humor about someone else can hardly find the common touch with people. I believe that our style can also be a resource; that we should be able to hear and want to listen to what people say—whether here in parliament—but even those who have a different opinion from ours. We must be able to speak the same language.

I can promise that this government will not preach to the people, but it will strive to see that citizens should learn as much as possible about the circumstances, the situation, the possibilities. Only in this way can we hope that they will understand us correctly, so that we might be able to weigh up their observations and recommendations in good time.

Dialogue with society is an important task of politicization, a task which at times is bitterly difficult but can never be evaded. We will not be a government of exclusion, of drawing demarcation lines, of conceit. Our style will be marked by openness, letting people in on things, and an honest tone. And we believe that this decent form of relations will ripen in all of us a sense of belonging together. The government undertakes a path of openness; moreover, it expects and it will tolerate criticism.

Naturally, responsibility for the decisions will not be diminished by (? more) open politicizing; responsibility always rests on those authorized to make the decisions.

The government wishes to have real press freedom. And it wants to avoid anyone from the area of politics interfering in the program policy of public service television and radio. We also want to put an end to a government-party press operating in this country with important public funds.

Esteemed National Assembly, Hungary's fate, the success of the government's endeavor, depend greatly on how international conditions develop and on the extent to which it is able to adapt to foreign political changes—whether it is capable of exploiting international processes for the benefit of the country.

The population rightly expects the government to build Hungary's international relations so that these contribute to the region's increased security and render external resources and markets—which are indispensable for the economy—accessible.

In accordance with this, the government has defined three equally ranked and closely interconnected paths of action in its foreign policy program. It wishes simultaneously to endeavor so that Hungary is closely linked to the developed states, so that it is integrated into the international organizations of the developed states, and so that it creates good relations based on mutual trust with the states of our region.

We support the Hungarians [Magyarsag] beyond our borders in that their rights should be recognized in accordance with international documents and norms, in that these rights should be guaranteed and asserted in practice.

From the viewpoint of Hungary's modernization, its economic- social development, and security, it is indispensable that we should join the European Union as soon as possible under the most favorable conditions attainable. The government will work efficiently on preparing accession, on the necessary transformation of

our economic and legal system, on preparing the population, and—exploiting the possibilities for moving forward guaranteed by the agreements—it will endeavor to succeed in ensuring that association with the EU involves more advantages than hitherto for the Hungarian economy.

I would especially like to emphasize here that our foreign policy's most urgent task is to begin to eliminate the tensions which burden the relationship between Hungary and some of its neighbors. The stability of this region is indispensable from the viewpoint of Hungary's security, our economic interests, and our international assessment abroad.

Without improving our relationship with our neighbors we do not have a chance of promoting an improvement of the situation of the Hungarian minority living there or of promoting an assertion of their rights. For this reason, the government is ready to take the initiative and to make the necessary gestures.

It is also ready, without delay, to begin talks with Slovakia and Romania about the basic treaties which they have urged for a long time. These must lay down the inviolability of borders—saying that the sides to the treaty have no territorial claims vis-a-vis one another—and they must contain a mutual pledging of commitments for the full assertion of the rights of national minorities.

I have said several times: In the constitutional sense I wish to be the prime minister of 10.5 million Hungarian citizens. On the basis of the voters' mandate, this government will be the government of Hungary's inhabitants.

At the same time, I profoundly feel my personal responsibility, and the government's responsibility laid down in the constitution, for the fate of Hungarians living beyond our borders. However, my conviction is that this responsibility must be expressed not through resounding statements but through steps which genuinely improve the situation of Hungarians living as a minority.

The government will keep this issue on the agenda at meetings to be held with the neighboring countries; not as a problem, however, which necessarily turns our countries against each another but as a task to be mutually resolved for the sake of the region's stability.

I am certain that with a foreign policy which endeavors to coordinate the interests of Hungary—as a country that considers international realities—and partner countries, our country's international prestige can be considerably increased. Interest in and sympathy toward our country can be boosted, and these endeavors will result in wide-ranging international support. Let us avail ourselves of the unique opportunity that this country can decide freely on its own policy; it has no enemy, only partners and neighbors who are ready to cooperate.

Esteemed House, the last five years of the second millennium are not only national anniversaries; the conquest [of the Carpathian basin] and the founding of the state exemplify the inseparable duality of our being European and Hungarian simultaneously. In our interpretation, however, being European is not merely a geographical concept but a type of outlook—humanism, enlightenment, renaissance, freedom, human rights in their totality. Europe for us is a key word and it is the sole opportunity for us to elevate our nation. The dual task, the grandness of the dual affiliation, have prompted me, out of obligation toward the homeland, the nation, the people, to say yes, with respect and humility, in reply to the request for me to accept the position of prime minister.

Ladies and gentlemen, in various speeches, reminiscences, and analyses, we have heard innumerable references to the burdens of the past 4 years, the past 40 years, and before then the cursed 25 years which weighed heavily on life in Hungary. I am of the opinion that we are thinking of a much longer period. In 1867 Ferenc Deak's compromise [establishing the dual monarchy] launched unprecedented prosperity and modernization in our country. This great half- century lasted until World War I. However, with little exception, what has happened since then has increased the nation's burdens. In this sense, we must contend with the prejudices and bad reflexes which have accumulated over almost a century.

Nowadays, many people surmise, and many others hope that the first socialist-liberal coalition in Hungarian history will mean not merely the formation of a government, but that it will constitute a fortunate possibility for national advance, for creating national unity.

I turn to every Hungarian citizen who loves the homeland when I appeal to them: let us, with joint efforts, create a reality out of this hope. Let today be the beginning of a new compromise which will give rise to development, prosperity, and peace.

I ask you, esteemed fellow deputies, to debate and adopt the government program which has been submitted. Thank you for your attention. [applause]

Culture Minister-Designate Views Tasks, Prospects

AU1507120294 Budapest UJ MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 14 Jul 94 p 11

[Interview with Culture Minister-Designate Gabor Fodor by Szilard Bela Javorszky; place and date not given: "The Gates of the Ministry Are Open to Everyone"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Javorszky] Why was the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] so attached to the Cultural Ministry?

[Fodor] We had bonds with every ministry we got, but then we received them after long negotiations. Both in my opinion and that of the SZDSZ, the Cultural Ministry is of key importance. For Hungary to be successful and cross the threshold of the 21st century successfully, the quality of basic, middle, and higher education should be adequate.

[Javorszky] When the SZDSZ joined the coalition, many people said that this is a good step for the economy, because this will strengthen Bekesi's economic policy; however, this is bad for the cultural sector, because the "cultural struggle" will continue and the populist-urban conflict will continue to increase, and now some kind of revenge is to be expected.

[Fodor] There will obviously be arguments and conflicts, but we have no intention whatsoever of having anything to do with what you have mentioned now. I pointed out in every committee hearing that I do not want to contribute to maintaining the blocs in Hungarian cultural life under any circumstances. On the contrary, I would like to contribute to a transfer of ideas between the various cultural levels. [passage omitted]

[Javorszky] Will you preserve the ministry apparatus?

[Fodor] Of course. I start from the premise that there are highly-trained people in this apparatus and most of them work well. So, there will be no cleansing here; I am only planning changes in the higher echelons but, in my opinion, this is quite natural, because these are so-called positions of confidence. [passage omitted]

[Javorszky] Some people fear that the process of returning the church properties to their owners will now stop.

[Fodor] This is out of question; this process will naturally continue. For my part, I would like to strengthen the functional principle in these restitutions. In other words, I would examine first what the given property is going to be used for. Thus, in my opinion, we should form a priority list by strengthening the functional principle; of course, together with the churches. [passage omitted]

[Javorszky] In connection with the radio and television, the government program speaks of possibly nominating the leaders of these institutions on the basis of a six-party agreement. This is a serious retreat from the previous principles.

[Fodor] The reason for this is that, currently, there is a crisis situation in the aforementioned institutions. In my opinion, it would not be correct for the government to directly supervise these two public service institutions. We can no longer maintain the 1974 regulations, and the opposition should also be won over to solve this problem. [passage omitted]

[Javorszky] Do you plan the lifting of the frequencies moratorium and some kind of solution to the situation of so-called local radio stations?

[Fodor] Definitely. I regard the lifting of the moratorium as an essential element of freedom of the press. A multicolored radio and television can only be affirmed when I can select the broadcasts that I find most entertaining myself, and I am not forced to receive everything from the so-called public service radio and television. Thus, we must solve the situation of public service institutions quickly and with the greatest consensus possible, and I think that opening the frequencies is just as important. At the same time, I would also personally like to support the so-called non-profit radio stations that fulfill certain minority cultural demands.

Pawlak, Olechowski Leave for Meeting in Trieste

LD1507125294 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1100 GMT 15 Jul 94

[Text] Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak and Foreign Minister Andrzej Olechowski have left for Trieste to take part in a meeting of the heads of governments and foreign ministers of the Central European Initiative [CEI] states.

Before his departure, Pawlak told journalists that he expected concrete talks and decisions concerning the construction of highways and railways linking the Adriatic and the Baltic. According to him, the summit in Trieste will provide the opportunity for discussing the most important issues of Central and East Europe.

Asked about the matter of the possible dismissal of Minister of Privatization Wieslaw Kaczmarek, Pawlak replied that he had already talked with the Polish Peasant Party deputies who had submitted the motion and with the minister himself. He said that he needed more time to make a decision on the issue.

EIB Gives Poland 1 Billion ECU's

LD1507093594 Warsaw PAP in Polish 0838 GMT 15 Jul 94

[Text] Warsaw, 15 Jul—Poland is to get approximately 1 billion ECU's—that is, $1,135 million—over three years from the European Investment Bank [EIB] for the development of infrastructure, Grzegorz Kolodko, deputy prime minister and finance minister, announced in Warsaw today, after signing the so-called framework agreement with EIB.

The funds will be used to finance the construction of highways, the Berlin-Warsaw railway line, development of the power industry, and many other smaller ventures. According to EIB Vice President Wolfgang Roth, the terms of the loan, which will be repaid over 20 years, are similar to those for the European Union member states.

Party Leader on Presidential Race, Walesa

WS1407131594 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 14 Jul 94 p 4

[Interview with Conservative Party Chairman Aleksander Hall by Piotr Zaremba; place and date not given: "Our President"]

[Text] [Zaremba] Would you like the post-Solidarity parties to agree on a joint presidential candidate?

[Hall] Both the Freedom Union [UW] and right-wing coalitions scored quite well in the self-governmental elections. If they decide to cooperate, they will be able to be in power in a majority of cities. A similar move regarding the presidential elections would create a chance for establishing a competition with candidates coming from parties of the Polish People's Republic [PRL] era. Polls indicate that they are the ones who currently have the best chances.

Otherwise, we will repeat the mistake of 1993. At that time, parties supporting Suchocka's government were not capable of coming to an agreement. The parties that fought her Cabinet from so-called right-wing positions (Center Accord, Movement for the Republic) did not form a common bloc, either. Those who choose to play the game of particular, individual interests currently will simply lose face and will be forced to leave the scene altogether.

[Zaremba] Ryszard Czarnecki, of the Christian-National Union, and the UW's Jan Litynski are equally skeptical about this idea. One could pose the question: What do both these politicians have in common, apart from their joint opposition during the PRL era?

[Hall] Given that Jan Litynski has been warning against going back to the mentality and the political habits deriving from the PRL, given that he has been saying that we do not need a religious war and has been accusing former communists of inciting such a war, and given that he has a vision of a democratic and decentralized state could be a link between him and other parties of the former anticommunist opposition. Ryszard Czarnecki, in turn, has been saying that we are dealing with a return to communism, that Christian values are being attacked and ridiculed, and it is precisely those dangers that should direct him toward cooperation with people of various Solidarity-derived orientations.

[Zaremba] But the thing is that they are afraid of losing credibility with voters. Some of the UW voters may in the future flee to join the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD]. Somebody like Jan Olszewski may be chosen over Czarnecki.

[Hall] Parties exist for the state, not the other way around. Perhaps in the not too distant future somebody's strong personality in the campaign will result in 1 percent more in the parliamentary elections. But to lose the presidential elections, which is bound to happen, given the variety of Solidarity-derived candidates, will at the same time weaken the chances of all of those parties. Even if presidential powers are weakened, this post will have a symbolic meaning. After a candidate for the SLD or the Polish Peasant Party wins, voters of Solidarity-derived parties will feel helpless. I agree with Jan Rokita: To lose the presidential race would mean beginning the 21st century under the rules of the current coalition, unless, of course, one wants to arrive at a compromise with the forces of old Poland.

[Zaremba] I do not think that activists of the UW's leftist faction are ruling out such a possibility.

[Hall] The slogan of conciliation sounds nice. The truth, however, is about forces of the old order being around everywhere. It is enough to take a look at the case of the

report on Foreign Ministry personnel, at staffing policies, or at the war with the church, which is being incited in a cynical way.

Gaps can be filled, but the controlling block of social mentality is in the hands of the forces of new Poland. Still, given that they [left-wing parties] are in power now—that makes no sense.

[Zaremba] The president's veto of amendments to the antiabortion law and the dispute surrounding the Concordat are possibly the main themes of the election campaign. This will create a good opportunity for attacking postcommunists, but you have always warned against religious wars.

[Hall] When you listen to Mr. Miller and Mrs. Sierakowska, it becomes clear that they want such a division. They want to be portrayed as the only spokesmen of "the progressive camp," and they interpret "progress" as the church's complete absence from public life, coupled with unlimited moral freedoms. On the other hand, there are many signs that Lech Walesa is also interested in the conflict and that he wants to lead the alternative camp. That is also an attractive alternative for politicians who have become clearly less visible these days, such as Jan Lopuszanski and Marek Jurek.

There will be no religious war provided significant political forces suggest a polarization around other issues. They should take part in the presidential campaign and speak for the sake of religious peace based on the Concordat formula: Autonomy yes, but also church-state cooperation. They should invoke patriotic and independence values, as well as defend our identity. These used to be the ideals proclaimed by Solidarity.

Candidates coming from these forces should also address the issue of plain honesty in politics, and they should guarantee the observance of the honesty principle during the execution of office.

[Zaremba] Could Lech Walesa be such a candidate?

[Hall] My assessment of his presidency tends to be negative, even though I approve of his recent moves, regardless of the intentions behind them. He defends a rational compromise on abortion, and he defends the Concordat. Still, the question I ask myself is this: Walesa's performance up to now and the way he has been handling the post—are these the best references for the future? He is filling a vacuum, but the point is there does not have to be any vacuum in the first place.

If the process of destroying the Solidarity-derived forces continues, it may turn out that Walesa will be the only one to pick up the gauntlet. That would mean a disgrace for the Solidarity- derived political class.

[Zaremba] So you can see room the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union Solidarity in the camp?

[Hall] I would like for the axis of the presidential coalition to be composed of UW, Alliance for Poland, and the Covenant of 11 November. However, one must strive to gain the support of Solidarity. The trade union is at a crossroads. In May 1993, the anticommunist Solidarity opened the door for the postcommunists to return to power. It can do the same thing now by coming up with its own candidate.

[Zaremba] You said the Covenant of 11 November should be one of the elements of the bloc. The Covenant includes the Conservative Party. Your allies from the Union for Real Politics, however, see it differently. They have been very anti-UW. This can be seen, for instance, by their opposition to attempts at conciliation between the right wing and UW in the Warsaw self government.

[Hall] On that issue, there are differences between us. My view is that a right-wing candidate could be submitted if the other possibilities fail. But then we will have the question: To which right wing is this candidate supposed to belong—the aggressive one, along the lines of GAZETA POLSKA, or the conservative-liberal one?

We must resist the prospect of post-PRL forces taking over the Belweder, with our force and an ability to come to an agreement. It cannot be a figure from the political sidelines.

[Zaremba] The issue will boil down to what kind of person the candidate is.

[Hall] There is no perfect candidate, but there are a dozen or so people who could possibly unite a wide spectrum, and they would come across positively in the media.

Union of Labor Sejm Deputy Smolko Interviewed

MM1407142094 Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 7 Jul 94 p 4

[Interview with Artur Smolko, Union of Labor Sejm deputy, by correspondent Slawomir Raube; place and date not given]

[Text] [Raube] What happened to the Union of Labor [UP]?

[Smolko] Well, it suffered a painful defeat in the election.

[Raube] Indeed, but why did that happen?

[Smolko] Because of the insufficiently highlighted difference from the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD]. Despite the fact that that difference is, in reality, quite considerable, during the election campaign it became blurred because we joined forces in an alliance with the SLD. As they went to the polling stations, our potential voters did not know whom they were supposed to support, whether their candidates were for or against what was happening in Poland at the time. In simple terms, the coalition with the SLD decided about our defeat.

[Raube] In other regions, you did not join forces with the SLD on the election, and yet you did not do too brilliantly, either....

[Smolko] On the whole, you are right. We did suffer a defeat. However, we also had local successes, mainly in places where UP was in conflict with the SLD over the definition of the true Left. For example, that happened in Wloclawek, where the UP and SLD candidates met in the local courts of law.

[Raube] Perhaps courts of law are the right place for the UP-SLD dialogue.

[Smolko] They are the right place at times when SLD activists refer to UP members, as they did in Wloclawek, as "Solidarity dregs." Nevertheless, I do not believe that courts of law are suitable places for parties to conduct political dialogue.

[Raube] Let us go back to Bialystok and discuss the question of personal responsibility for UP's involvement in a coalition with the SLD.... Which of the local UP activists promoted that particular solution?

[Smolko] I would prefer not to answer this question in terms of the rhetoric of crime and punishment. I was against a coalition with the SLD, but I blame myself, too, for failing to persuade my colleagues that some other solution was possible. I believe that the impact of the election result was like stepping into a cold shower and that it will have a comparable sobering effect on our activists. There are too many differences between the SLD and us to justify putting our electors to such a test again.

[Raube] Were the majority of your colleagues in favor of the coalition?

[Smolko] We had an argument over whether we should be considering entering into a coalition with other partners. During the debate, none of the sides were definitely winning. The ultimate solution we chose was really influenced by the worst possible factor—that is, haste.

[Raube] Apart from the SLD, what other possible coalition partners did you consider?

[Smolko] I was in favor of UP setting up a position in the center of the political stage. In our territories, where there are so many ethnic and religious differences dividing the population, people often opt for extreme positions: either the Catholic right-wing orientation or the posthumous heirs of the Polish United Workers Party. I wanted the voters to have the opportunity to choose the middle road. I suspect that many of our supporters are in favor of the option presented by the Union of Freedom [UW]. If we were able to create such a social coalition of people who prefer the moderate manner of pursuing politics and who, even when arguing, as they might, over the merits of different economic principles, still appreciate the achievements of the past five years, the election results would have been better for both UP and the UW.

[Raube] I understand that you held talks with the UW....

[Smolko] I talked with Deputy K. Wolfram, but the outcome of our talk was unsuccessful.

[Raube] What position did Sejm Speaker Aleksander Malachowski take?

[Smolko] Mr. Malachowski believed that our support for the SLD would carry grave risks for us, especially in the case of those SLD candidates who have a past record as apparatchiks—and there are quite a few of those. After that hasty decision, Aleksander Malachowski decided to preserve a stance of sympathetic neutrality, even though he did give public expression to his disapproval of the behavior of the SLD after the 19 September election. He simply believes that the left-wing camp should be constructed without outside assistance.

[Raube] Let us make an inventory of the current "assets" of the Left in Bialystok: All in all, you have won 10 seats [in 19 June local government elections]. How many UP councillors are there among them?

[Smolko] Out of the 10 seats held by left-wing councillors, three belong to UP members.

[Raube] What about the Bialystok Voivodship as a whole?

[Smolko] We have more than 20 councillors there. For example, there are seven of "our men" in Michalowo. We also have our representatives in Suwalki voivodship—for example, in Wegorzewo, where we won eight seats.

[Raube] What moral can be drawn for UP from these latest elections?

[Smolko] Local self-government elections are less political in their nature than parliamentary ones, so we cannot really formulate any far-reaching political conclusions. However, in my opinion, what happened in Bialystok is most instructive. The voters said in effect that they wanted a UP that would stand in opposition toward the government coalition and that they preferred to see it assume a genuinely alternative position. The voters want to know what they are "buying." If I go to a store and see two items displayed side by side—a bar of chocolate and a chocolatelike product, both at the same price—I buy the real chocolate. If the voter becomes disappointed in the supposedly left character of the SLD, UP must be able to demonstrate that a truly left-oriented turn in the direction of social democracy is possible only with us.

[Raube] How can the voters recognize UP as genuine chocolate rather than a chocolatelike product if they do not quite know whether you are in opposition or in coalition with the ruling political group?

[Smolko] We are in opposition now, at long last.

[Raube] Since when?

[Smolko] The UP National Council made a decision to that effect two weeks ago. I believe we waited too long for that. However, after the adoption of Minister Kolodko's Strategy for Poland document, there are no more doubts about what the SLD really wants: continuation or a left-directed turn.

[Raube] In your opinion, is the Strategy for Poland a continuation of the present economic policy?

[Smolko] It is a propaganda document. It claims that production will increase and that people will enjoy better living standards. However, the devil resides in the details, and these have not been released to the public.

[Raube] What does this mean?

[Smolko] I will be interested to see the reaction of old age and disability pensioners, who had so many promises made to them by the SLD, when they realize that the government is introducing price-linked revision of their pensions. Previous government teams were afraid to introduce such revisions because they feared the tremendous public discontent that such moves always generate. I will be interested to see how citizens will react to the already announced increases in indirect taxes, which will hit the poorest members of society.

[Raube] So what are you saying? Is Strategy for Poland an antisociety program?

[Smolko] This is very strong phrasing, possibly too strong. On the other hand, when I remember that one of the consequences of adopting the Strategy for Poland program will be a drop in real expenditure on education, the health service, and other budget-funded sectors, I come to the conclusion that perhaps such strong criticism is justified.

[Raube] So UP is going into opposition. But the coalition does not seem unduly worried about your decision. Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz is just as concerned over your move into opposition as he would be over a leaking gutter on his barn roof—or at least that is what he is saying.

[Smolko] If we were to discuss all such manifestations of the arrogance of the coalition's representatives, our conversation would last a very long time. And I find that particular utterance by Cimoszewicz as surprising as it is worrying. Incidentally, it should also give Minister Pol a lot to think about because, if the coalition is as interested in Marek Pol's competence in his office as Cimoszewicz is in a leaky gutter on his farm, then I would be, to tell the truth, inclined to be more concerned for the future of the farm than for the fate of Mr. Cimoszewicz himself.

Melescanu Assesses Relations With Bulgaria

AU1407120694 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 8 Jul 94 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Teodor Melescanu, Romanian foreign minister, by Mariyana Boyadzhieva; place and date not given: "Romania Has No Claims to Bulgarian Territory"]

[Text] [Boyadzhieva] Two years ago Presidents Iliescu and Zhelev signed the bilateral friendship treaty. What changes have there been in Bulgarian-Romanian relations since then?

[Melescanu] There was a period when our political contacts were not very frequent. I would like to note that, as a whole, Bulgarian-Romanian relations have made progress. There are no differences and difficult issues in the sphere of politics. After a certain decline, we are now making progress in the sphere of the economy. Some 80 percent of our trade is implemented by private companies. We have signed a cultural exchange program. It is true that our relations were at a lower level, but this was a result of the grave economic situation in the two countries.

The infrequent contacts could be explained by the fact that both Bulgaria and Romania are concentrating on their domestic development. In the two countries the domestic political life is very intensive. In addition, both countries strive toward integration in European structures. I hope that we will have more contacts in the future.

[Boyadzhieva] Articles containing purely nationalistic claims occasionally appear in the Romanian press. Since you always officially point out that this is not Bucharest's official position—what is your position?

[Melescanu] First, let me say that I have never seen such articles. Perhaps there are publishing houses that publish such things. Romania has no territorial claims vis-a-vis southern Dobrudzha or any other Bulgarian territories. On the contrary, we think that the integrity of and respect for the borders in Europe today is a basic principle that ensures stability in our region and the world. Even if certain people have such a position, this should not affect and strain our bilateral relations. No one brought up this issue during my meetings in Sofia.

[Boyadzhieva] What will be the fate of the Bulgarian historical and cultural monuments in Romania?

[Melescanu] We spoke about the interest of the two countries in protecting these monuments, which are related to our common history. We noted the fact that at present there are not sufficient funds to preserve this heritage, but we agreed that we must not allow it to disintegrate. The monuments I mean are the Brothers Georgiev Monument in Bucharest, the Bulgarian school, which was destroyed, the church and monument in Pleven, and so forth.

[Boyadzhieva] Will the two countries propose a joint initiative to compensate for the damage resulting from the Yugoembargo?

[Melescanu] With my Bulgarian colleague Daskalov we reached the conclusion that we must continue our efforts within the United Nations. It is not very likely that we will receive any direct compensation in the near future, but we discussed the indirect ways, including the participation of Bulgarian and Romanian companies and experts in restoring the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia after peace is established. We also discussed the possibility of receiving certain financial alleviations from the international institutions and convening an international meeting of experts. At the initiative of Bulgaria we will await the report of the UN general secretary in the fall, and will continue to work together in this direction.

'Exclusive Interview' With Vladimir Zhirinovskiy

AU1407084294 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 11 Jul 94 pp 1,16

["Exclusive interview" with Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia, by Alexandru Todericiu in Vienna on the occasion of the CSCE Parliamentary Assembly meeting; date not given: "I Respect the Romanian People!"]

[Text] Vladimir Zhirinovskiy—the politician who shocked the whole world from Vancouver to Vladivostok by his declarations that oozed with xenophobia and aggressive imperialism, fatally resembling Adolf Hitler—does not grant interviews unless they are paid for in dollars. That is why, so far, only the Western press, with solid financial bases, were able to "benefit" from interviews with the chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party (although everyone knows how "liberal" and how "democratic" that party is) in the Russian Federation. Therefore we were extremely surprised that, this time, he agreed to grant us an exclusive interview without any financial claims. Could this signal a change in his personality, or is it rather a consequence of the fact that the interim prosecutor general of Russia has officially requested that the State Duma should lift his parliamentary immunity for the scandalous assertions made in his book titled "The Last Push Toward the South"? Anyhow, after having called us "Gypsies from Italy," Zhirinovskiy now retracts that insulting statement that he made in Sofia and declares that he "respects the Romanian people" and wants us to have "civilized relations." Nevertheless, we will not be so naive as to take him at his word: As any demagogue would do, the chief of the Liberal Democratic Party always makes flattering statements to the people he is talking to at the time, statements that, however, totally contradict his earlier ones. Despite all this, we publish the interview, without even changing a single comma, hoping that at least a little part of what he stated this time would, perhaps, be true.

[Todericiu] According to your map, published in February by the German magazine DER SPIEGEL, nothing is to remain of Romania except for a narrow strip, and even Bucharest is to become a Bulgarian city. Why are you against Romania?

[Zhirinovskiy] We are not interested in the borders of other states. I know, however, that the Hungarians have territorial claims against Romania, regarding Transylvania, and the Bulgarians have claims regarding Dobrogea.

Nevertheless, if we were to start retracing all borders, certain states would vanish completely, while others would gain new territories. I think that wouldn't be good.

[Todericiu] Should the borders be altered or not, Mr. Zhirinovskiy?

[Zhirinovskiy] They should not be altered, because that would cause a state of tension throughout the world. The map you mentioned was merely a forecast. If we were to start reorganizing the borders, in the way that it happened in the former USSR, all of Europe would be altered. Dangerous hotbeds of conflict would appear, and that should be avoided.

[Todericiu] Have you reflected upon your own declaration in which you termed the Romanian people as consisting of "Italian Gypsies"? To us, it was an absolute novelty. What does your statement rely on? Do you uphold it?

[Zhirinovskiy] Under no circumstances. I was visited by a kind of a representative, from Italy I believe, or perhaps Slovenia, who tried to explain to me that the Romanian people appeared artificially. He tried to convince me that, a long time ago, the Gypsies came from Italy, settled down in the area of Bucharest, and founded the Romanian state. I do not share that point of view. I have never had ill thoughts about the Romanians. This can also be confirmed by the Romanian ambassador to Moscow, who knows me, because he stayed in our country for five years. The employees of the Romanian Embassy in Moscow know very well my good opinions about your country, because of all the diplomatic missions, yours was the one I visited most frequently.

[Todericiu] Your statement about World War III has caused concern throughout the world. If you become Russia's president would you really trigger such a war? Against whom will it be directed and how would the map of the world look after it is over?

[Zhirinovskiy] I am concerned over the appearance in the West of certain "aggression centers" directed against Russia. The result of this would be a possible conflict, the elements of which could be observed today in the Balkans or in the wars generated in the Caucasian region and the Middle East.

Nevertheless, that possible World War III, caused perhaps again by the West, as the previous two wars were, will be won by Russia. We do not wish a new war, but the preconditions already exist. We want to warn the West: Russia will come out as the victor of World War III!

[Todericiu] The G-7 discussions have just begun in Naples. In one of the few statements of yours with which I agree, you said that ever since the collapse of the USSR the West has been making promises to Russia, but actually it did not offer a great deal. What does Russia expect from the rest of the world?

[Zhirinovskiy] We do not need anything from the West. We are not begging for anything. Ours is not a poor, backward country, waiting for someone to lend a helping hand. We could help other countries, if need be. All we need is a quiet development of Russia, without any interference from abroad. Without foreign ideas being imposed on us: Then it was the "October revolution," the Bolsheviks, the communists, and now they want to compel us to "democratization," to this perestroyka, to a kind of, to a new way of thinking... [sentence as published] We will live the way we want to.

We advocate the observance of human rights throughout the world and we oppose any forms of discrimination (national, religious, or political). The borders should remain stable in Europe. The perils of war ought to be eliminated. Market economy should be introduced everywhere, abiding by the specific features of each country. We are ready to sustain these things and to achieve them; however, we will not allow anyone to put us under pressure in that sense. We do not wish to be given directions! Not from Vienna, nor from Paris or Bonn... "Your economic development is incorrect, your financial policy is unacceptable, your political system is faulty, you are not solving the problem of minorities correctly..." We need no teachers because we are not pupils!

We can live quietly even without Western Europe. We want to cultivate open economic relations, exchanges of people and services. We are prepared for those things and wish for them.

One day, Russia will economically and culturally dominate Western Europe! Some of our current competitors will be pushed aside. That is what the West is afraid of. Of our additional competition.

[Todericiu] When do you think the next presidential elections will take place in Russia and how do you assess your chances?

[Zhirinovskiy] The elections will take place in 1995. Statistically speaking, I and Yeltsin are ahead of the others. Most recently, Yeltsin had 12.6 percent, while I had 12.5 percent. They penalized me by 0.1 percent so that I should not be situated ahead of the acting president in public opinion polls.

[Todericiu] Which will be the first measures you will take, should you become president?

[Zhirinovskiy] We will establish [vom stabili] Russia's borders. Generally, by that I mean the borders of the

former USSR. We will put an end to civil war and we will halt the negative developments in economic reform. We will try to give it a positive impetus: Find other forms of privatization, implement a new taxation policy, support both the state-owned sector and the private one, reconstruct the armament industry, and eliminate crime. This is a bundle of measures that will heal life in our country.

[Todericiu] What would happen to Russia's belonging to the Partnership for Peace?

[Zhirinovskiy] We will amplify general cooperation and we will support both bilateral relations and regional cooperation. There is no need for global things, such as a pan-American world, a pan- Islamic one, or the Partnership for Peace. All these are actually "global campaigns." Regional contacts, bilateral relations are preferable.

[Todericiu] You are here in Vienna as a member of the Russian delegation attending the meeting of the CSCE parliamentarians. How do you assess the role and efficiency of that organization?

[Zhirinovskiy] We need to meet to be able to exchange opinions. Nevertheless it is inadmissible that international organizations should be turned into instruments to meddle in other countries' affairs. For instance to send troops to former Yugoslavia.

[Todericiu] With which Romanian political party do you have relations?

[Zhirinovskiy] I do not have direct contacts with any party. I have good relations with the Romanian Embassy in Moscow, which for a long time now has been preparing a visit of mine to your country.

[Todericiu] What is your assessment of the current leadership in Bucharest and its political course?

[Zhirinovskiy] Originally, Iliescu is a communist. Something like Kravchuk in Ukraine or our communist leaders in Russia. That is why ideologically I am keeping at a distance from these people. However, Iliescu is suitable for this people. He is an elected president. He ought to be respected, the same way as the prime minister should. Elected authorities should not be continuously questioned and one's own history painted in bleak colors. I find the way Ceausescu was treated to be a bad thing. It is true, he was a communist, but why did he have to be killed so bestially? But of course, that is an internal affair of the Romanians...

Official Views Panel Report on SRI Activity

AU1107193694 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 8 Jul 94 p 3

[Corneliu Antim report: "Green Light for Long-Expected Report"]

[Text] The parliament panel controlling the SRI [Romanian Intelligence Service] activity has completed its report. We obtained this piece of information from the deputy chairman of the panel, Deputy Doru Viorel Ursu. The report contains the conclusions of the panel over the 1993-1994 parliamentary year. Initially, the panel wanted to have the report debated before the conclusion of the recently ended parliament session, but the standing bureaus of the two chambers did not manage to finish examining it in time. Nevertheless, after the autumn session begins, the PD [Democratic Party] deputy [Ursu] will insist that the report be debated publicly, in an open session, as the greatest part of its contents may be of public interest.

The three chapters of the report refer to the issue of telephone wiretapping (a balance of such actions and the name of the objectives placed under surveillance), as well as the right of the prosecution to control the way in which its orders to wiretap telephones are carried out also after the procedure itself has been initiated. Related to this issue the parliamentary panel made a remark: Over the aforementioned period of time the SRI carried out a number of about 850 authorized wiretapping actions, but the efficiency of those actions did not always reach the expected level. As far as the interception of letters is concerned, the panel's report says that it did not prove to be operational "owing to the lack of appropriate practice," which could have made it efficient.

The second chapter refers to specific intelligence activity. The panel found significant discrepancy between the volume of information gathered by the SRI bodies and the number of legal actions initiated on the basis of that information. From several hundred pieces of such specific information legal courts registered "merely two or three such accredited cases!" And this is a significant figure regarding the efficiency, on that plane, of SRI activity.

The third chapter of the report deals with the way in which the SRI spent the funds earmarked for it from the budget and the legal basis of spending those funds.

Mr. Ursu told us that there have been irregularities in that field as well, in the administration, on a legal basis, of the agricultural-industrial company in Craiova (which formerly was sponsored and was working exclusively for the Romanian Communist Party), currently in the custody of the SRI. There are certain questionable things about this company that must be clarified, although economically it is quite prosperous. The sloppy things questioned by the parliamentary panel refer exclusively to issues of a juridical nature.

The conclusion of the PD deputy on the report on the parliamentary panel was quite brief: "No irregularities, but rather carelessness has been unveiled." However, carelessness is incompatible with the character and status of such a military-type institution.

Finally Mr. Ursu informed the press that he will request from parliament, in its next session, that the situation of SRI employees and specific information gathered on the domestic and international situation of Romania and the functioning of primary state institutions also be verified.

To that end, it would be necessary to submit to parliament's control the Foreign Intelligence Services (SIE) as well, operating within the SRI, which are currently exempt from such control. Moreover, in the opinion of the PD deputy, all SRI activity should be subject to the Law on Ministerial Responsibility, as is the case in all European democracies. However, the way we see it, that wish might come true in a long time, as in our country the aforementioned law is still in a draft form. A draft law, which they have been postponing for a very long time. Or which they have been ignoring for a long time—which boils down to the same thing.

Article Views Government Involvement in 'Scandal'

AU1207141494 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 6 Jul 94 pp 1,10

[Unattributed article: "The Barley Scandal: The Government Is in Collusion With the Large-Scale Importers"]

[Text] As we have already reported, while barley is rotting in the fields and hundreds of hectares are waiting to be harvested, several ships full of imported barley have arrived at the port of Constanta. The justification for this act is allegedly the insufficient domestic production! In reality, this year's production is more than sufficient, but the funds for purchasing the internal production have been blocked until the very last hour. Only at the last moment, after our newspaper drew attention to the issue, has the government announced that it is releasing about 700 million lei to purchase this year's barley and wheat crop. Nobody knows when this money is going to reach the producer.

The ones profiting from this abnormal situation are the same large-scale businessmen who rushed to start importing, insolently presenting this business as beneficial for our country. What is their argument? Lower prices for import barley. How low? Three lei. We repeat: three lei per kilogram. This is the "business" that the Vacaroiu government started, with the price of destroying the national production!

Certainly, we are talking here about an irresponsible act, which proves again that the current leadership is in the service of the mafia of large-scale importers, who gain millions of dollars in commissions from such a business. One can notice here an anti- national policy that cannot be conceived in any democratic country. In similar situations, other governments resort to measures of protecting the domestic production, just as the Japanese Government did with rice production (by taking over the very big differences between the domestic and the import prices.) The Italian Government acted in a similar way with its wines, or the U.S. Government with its wheat production. As a matter of fact, it is very dubious that the price of barley imported by large-scale importers is so low. There can be only one explanation for it: the agricultural producers in the respective countries are subsidized in order to protect their own product and, as one can see, to destroy the Romanian production.

Yesterday, 5 July, we were told that, finally, a document has been adopted on introduction of customs taxes, an act that will counterbalance barley imports. Why has this act been delayed so long? The decision makers were waiting for our big businessmen to unload the ships. As if to prove us right, the body representing the government—the way it has done on other occasions, too—has become the body representing the mafia of importers, whose side it takes openly, without any sign of embarrassment before the peasants who are waiting with their barley in the fields for the money promised by the leaders. A subservient article headlined "Right To Reply and Remarks About the Government's Activity," which is defending Trita Fanita [Romanian businessman] (and at the same time the Vacaroiu government) as well as the act of importing massive quantities of barley, tells us only one significant fact, namely that six more ships full of barley are still expected to arrive in Romania!

That is why the payment to the Romanian producers and the endorsement of customs protection measures have been delayed: to allow the game of the importers to unfold with the support of the government members, who assist them also by granting them a generous "advertisement" space in the newspaper of the executive.

Development Agency Head on Foreign Investments

94BA0312A Bucharest AZI in Romanian 17 May 94 p 13

[Interview with Nicolae Jantea, head of the Romanian Development Agency, by Constantin Mesenschi; place and date not given: "1994, a Decisive Year for Foreign Investments in Romania"]

[Text] *Foreign investments represent the "oxygen mask" needed to rebuild Romania's economy. Unfortunately, their total value during the past four years amounts to only $830.6 million. The well known British paper FINANCIAL TIMES considers this figure to be "very small for the largest Balkan state." A conversation Nicolae Jantea, president of the Romanian Development Agency, provided answers to some of the complex questions that are facing this field.*

[Jantea] We also think that the amount of approximately $800 million invested in the economy during the past four years is small, given the size of Romania's market, second after Poland in Europe. The value of foreign investments in the economy is thus small, a situation that has led to very complex analyses of the causes of this behavior, in addition to the general reasons beyond our control. But without forced euphoria and optimism, we believe that we are working realistically, involved as we are in promoting the investment of foreign capital while correctly presenting the growth and conditions that can be achieved here.

[Mesenschi] You referred to the causes of this situation. What are they?

[Jantea] In my opinion, they have hinged on the European and international circumstances in which our country found itself compared to other countries. If we refer to the parallel with Hungary presented by the FINANCIAL TIMES, it is well known that that country began its transformation to a market economy many years before Romania. It achieved market economy regulations, levers, and rules long before us.

[Mesenschi] But how did the other countries, Poland, the Czech Republic, and Slovakia, manage to attract foreign investors?

[Jantea] Taken separately, each of them was in a more advantageous situation than Romania. You mentioned Poland. Even if, at first sight, it appears less reasonable, the very fact that Poland had, and, as we know, continues to have an immense foreign debt, was transformed into a situation that has made many foreign companies interested in continuing their presence in Poland, just so that they could capitalize on the debt. In the investment field, they extensively implemented the method of using debt in reinvestments. In other words, each country had its particular features. In addition, there is no doubt that an added feature in our case, was Romania's image, which we had to struggle hard to change.

[Mesenschi] Is it just a matter of image or mentality as well?

[Jantea] Yes. It is a matter of mentality. It is a difficult fight because concepts have to be changed. There are many factors which depend on us, on institutions, and on all our strength. But what can be said, in the end, is that the value of foreign investments drawn into the economy is not sufficient for present needs. We can also add that statistical comparisons are not always sufficiently relevant. Unlike us, who include in investment statistics only foreign participation in business capital, others go further and also include the foreign resources drawn into the respective company. It is possible for these comparisons to be relative.

[Mesenschi] What is the structure of foreign investments by activities?

[Jantea] First of all, in looking at the structure of the invested foreign capital we note a predominance of large investments. For instance, investments of over $1 million represent 69 percent of the total foreign investments in Romania, those of over $500,000 represent about 75 percent of the total, and those of over $100,000 represent 85 percent.

In terms of fields of activity, 88 percent of the investments of more than $1 million, and 70 percent of the investments in general, are in industry. In this area, approximately 18 percent go to the extraction industry, 19 percent to the machine construction industry, and 11 percent to electronics and electrical engineering. We are satisfied with the latter two fields, because, compared to other countries we must make greater efforts since these are leading branches of the economy. Light industry receives 32 percent of the foreign investment volume in industry, and in the food industry, where they are rather easy, investments represent approximately 14 percent. In turn, trade has a lower percentage from a value standpoint, where it does not exceed 10 percent in regard to participation in the capital. In agriculture, we can only mention the food industry, which remains at around 12 percent. We have no investments in agriculture as such. And in tourism, we unfortunately find an insignificant percentage of foreign investments, at about 10 percent.

[Mesenschi] Many potential investors from abroad complain about the legislative obstacles in Romania, and about the ponderous bureaucracy that obstructs their projects. What do you think should be done to improve the situation?

[Jantea] Some steps have been taken recently to solve these problems. I cannot say that we have succeeded in eliminating all the obstacles you mentioned. They truly exist, but I can attest that, in our contacts with large companies, large potential investors, and specialized companies, we have received comments in recent months about the positive trends that they have noted thanks to the many forces that have been brought into action. But enough problems remain to create these difficulties. Among them there is one which is of great concern to me and to my colleagues involved in foreign investment activities in Romania, and that is the preparation of foreign investment projects in Romania. We have a legal framework considered competitive with other countries for the stages we have spanned. It could of course be improved, but it has not been, and after we improve it, this is not enough. What is important is its implementation. What is needed in this respect is to define the institutional framework, to define exactly what needs to be done by the institutions involved in this process of transforming the economy, of establishing it on the principles and levers of a market economy. These institutions, which are FPS (State Property Funds), FPP (Private Property Funds), ANP (National Agency For Privatization), ARD (Romanian Development Agency), and the ministries which conceive strategies, have taken some steps. But I don't believe that we have achieved a very clear picture of what needs to be done for a strategic, concrete, pragmatic preparation of projects to attract foreign investors. We therefore feel that the evolution, the preparation of the investment project must be viewed in the framework of a policy, as globalized as possible, of foreign capital investment. In order to achieve this preparation, I can tell you that at the end of last year and now in 1994, for the 2,300 companies included in the privatization program approved by the legislature, we have proceeded together with the FPS and FPP to select proposals from the economic entities which wanted to attract foreign capital participation. To

this end, we have prepared so-called enterprise, commercial company profiles, which are a sort of technical-commercial files that will eliminate many of the obstacles or much of the wasted time. So far we have created and prepared about 250-300 such projects, which we will print into a catalog.

But there remain other matters to be resolved. In tourism, for instance, the question of property has not yet been resolved, a situation which also exists in agriculture. The Romanian Development Agency is only a small cog in the machinery formed by this institutional framework. We continue to uncover problems that arise, but the other disturbing factors, such as the mentality of managements and people in general, persist. We need to intensify these efforts.

[Mesenschi] The Council for Reform has taken the initiative to establish a Commission for Promoting Foreign Investments. Who are the members of this new agency and what are its functions?

[Jantea] It is a new organization which has been formed de facto, and which still has to be formally statuted by government decision. From a practical standpoint, it has started its operations. The leader of the commission is State Minister Mircea Cosea, and its executive deputy is the ARD president, namely myself. The rest of the commission is composed of secretaries of state from the ministries with functions associated with this sector, as well as representatives from the FPS, FPP, ANP, the ministries of finance, trade, and so on. It is essentially an interministerial commission. We find such commissions even in the advanced countries, their purpose being to discuss, to establish strategic orientations in investments. On the other hand, its role is to better define the institutional framework and the functions, the interaction among the institutions which contribute to this process. Similarly, the commission analyzes the legal framework of foreign capital investments, which—as is true in other countries—cannot remain carved in stone. Lastly, it also serves to analyze the special, more complex projects directly related to major national interests and economic development.

[Mesenschi] The commission will concern itself only with investments larger than $50 million?

[Jantea] In assessing new investments we now introduce a package of criteria to categorize them. Among these are the amount of foreign participation in the capital, in conjunction with financial sources, especially when it is a matter of external financial sources attracted without affecting Romania's foreign public debt. Another criterion is also the quality of the contribution in kind from foreign investors, which is of outstanding importance for competitiveness.

[Mesenschi] What signals have you received after the Crans Montana Forum?

[Jantea] They are positive signals, although we cannot say that we are faced with an avalanche or particular intensification of investment requests. In any case, the signals are positive, and not only that, the number of foreign investors and the interest from western countries, not only European ones, is unquestionably increasing. This is the point at which we must have the tenacity, the wisdom to find the best solutions, starting, of course, with an interest in a balanced development of the national economy. At this time, the international financial organizations, beginning with the IMF, the World Bank, the European Investment Bank, the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development in London, all these institutions are ready to support foreign capital investments in Romania. We are in contact not only with the investors, but also with the banks, the financial organizations that are asking us directly about fields and conditions for investment.

[Mesenschi] And what is the pulse at the investor level?

[Jantea] They are coming closer. Large companies have shown and continue to show interest in making investments in Romania. Their results so far, such as in telecommunications, mean that large companies such as Siemens, Alcatel, are considering an increase in their investments in Romania. This shows that when you have a clearly defined vision, such as in telecommunications, results can be obtained, because it is evident that you are serious, you are on the job, and you know what you want. That's something that can be felt. In addition to the ones mentioned, there are other companies, Japanese companies for instance, which are interested in investments. Of course they are coming now, later. In the food industry there are also foreign companies concerned with making investments, such as British Sugar. In the infrastructure as well, foreign businessmen want to participate in various projects that are underway, typically the modernization of the road network and the Constanta-South free zone. Together with the Minister of Transportation, we are striving to create a coherent strategy for these free zones.

[Mesenschi] What do you hope that 1994 will represent for the foreign investment dynamics?

[Jantea] This year offers conditions better than any of the previous ones for attracting foreign capital investment. At the same time, it requires from all of us, whether it is the government, the legislature, or other involved institutions, a coordination of efforts and essential objectives. Similarly, it requires flexible and effective solutions to the problems associated with these investment projects, so that we will be in a position to make good use of this year, which, I confess, appears to be favorable. The time has come to achieve these goals, because if we also lose 1994, I can tell you it will be too late. Investment flows are created now. You might say that the cards are played, the markets are shared. The foundations are being laid, and we cannot afford any more losses. That is why, beyond any other concerns, we must stress economic development.

Foreign Investments in Romania in 1990-93 (in millions of dollars)

Year	Subscribed Capital	Number of Companies	Number of Investing Countries
1990	107.7	1,529	68
1991	156.3	6,368	84
1992	269.1	12,780	103
1993	227.4	8,457	103
Total	760.5	29,134	127

Filipoiu on 'Difficulties' in Commodities Exchange

94P20930A Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 2 Jun 94 p 6

[Article by Bogdan Chirieac including interview with Mircea Filipoiu, director general of the Romanian Commodities Exchange; date and place of interview not given: "The Romanian Commodities Exchange—An Opportunity That Is Not Sufficiently Utilized"]

[Text] [Chirieac] Mr. Director, with extensive participation of private capital, the Romanian Commodities Exchange (BRM) was officially inaugurated in the presence of the president of Romania on 20 November 1992 as an organization with great promise for the market economy. What is the situation now, a year and one half after the BRM's establishment?

[Filipoiu] I believe that the BRM is in a relatively good situation compared to other markets in Eastern Europe, if we consider our present stage: just getting off the ground.

[Chirieac] What are you referring to, specifically?

[Filipoiu] In the first year and one half of operation, we carried out only some spot transactions amounting to 10 billion lei. But spot transactions account for only 5 percent of the total market transactions on the world level. This summer we will initiate other types of operations, such as quotation transactions, spot transactions and scheduled transactions with settlement in hard currency, and barter transactions.

[Chirieac] Nevertheless, considering the efforts, the results are not up to the level of expectations. What are the main obstacles to the good activity of the market?

[Filipoiu] I believe that lack of confidence in the current banking system is a major handicap. As a result of that lack of confidence, people are sidestepping the market. Because of the banking system, which postpones payments and delays or loses payment instructions, many people prefer to conduct transactions with suitcases of money. Recently, we conducted negotiations with the Association of Romanian Banks regarding creation of bank guarantee letters for market transactions. Unfortunately, the letters do not exist yet and there are also no certificates of deposit. As the market guarantees the security of the transactions, we are in a situation in which people who want to sell a commodity must also have collateral funds deposited in the bank. In general, when anyone sells a commodity, he does it to get liquidity and not to tie up his money in another bank deposit.

[Chirieac] The immediate adoption of a law on the market was promised in 1992. What has been done about that?

[Filipoiu] Nothing. The Romanian Commodities Exchange is operating on the basis of Law No. 31. Some people even say we are operating on the basis of Law No. 178 of 13 August 1929. What is not known is the fact that the law was repealed by Decree No. 691 in 1973.

[Chirieac] If the exchange is sidestepped, while, nevertheless, the government maintains that it supports the market economy, who is setting the prices?

[Filipoiu] I would like to give only one example. Last year, most of the directors of sugar factories of Romania wanted to sell their commodity by means of the exchange. However, they were prevented from coming to the BRM by a 29 June 1993 order of the minister of agriculture, Oancea. He ordered that the products must be sold only by means of the balance sheet, at the prices set by the Ministry of Agriculture.

[Chirieac] With all the difficulties the BRM is experiencing, when do you think a stock exchange will exist in Romania?

[Filipoiu] Very soon. The National Bank is engaged in developing the capital market. A special body has been created for that purpose and it is using foreign consultants more advanced than we are. The law on the stock exchange has already passed the Chamber of Deputies and is being examined by the Senate.

[Chirieac] Mr. Director, are you optimistic about the future of the commodities exchange in Romania?

[Filipoiu] Absolutely. No one can conceive of a market economy without a commodities exchange. Everyone in Romania says that they want a market economy. If the results have not been spectacular so far, it is a reflection, on the one hand, of the state of the Romanian economy and, on the other, of indecisiveness in applying the reform. But it cannot continue. If the economy becomes invigorated, the same thing will happen with the Romanian Commodities Exchange.

Erosion of Ethnic Romanian Identity in Ukraine

94P20974A Bucharest DIMINEATA in Romanian 17 Jun 94 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Vasile Maravela, member of the executive committee of the Christian-Democratic Alliance of Romanians in Ukraine, by Aureliu Goci; place and date not given: "The Romanians in Southern Bessarabia Have Become Soviets"]

[Text] [Goci] Mr. Maravela, what is happening to the Romanians in southern Bessarabia, who are far removed from the Republic of Moldova and the compact group in Bukovina?

[Maravela] We are active in the south Odessa branch, with headquarters in Ismail. There are no Romanians in Odessa but the official Ukrainian territorial-administrative division is respected. I do not know the precise figure but, according the 1989 statistics, there are 150,000 Romanians in the Odessa region. It is the largest minority in the south, compared to Bulgarians, Gagauz, and Jews.

[Goci] Ismail is a city which has always been present in Romanian history. But what is the situation today?

[Maravela] Ismail is a Soviet city, not Ukrainian, not Romanian. The official language is Russian and so is the mentality or civil identity of the residents. The Romanian language is spoken among the people and it is present in the Romanian villages where there are ethnic Romanian schools (18 Romanian schools which receive textbooks from... Tiraspol since they are in Cyrillic and not from Chisinau because textbooks there are in the Latin alphabet), villages such as Barta, Satu Nou, Cartal, Andal—in Reni Rayon—with a dense Romanian population, or Ozionoie—in Ismail Rayon.

[Goci] Is there a Romanian national identity in these places?

[Maravela] To tell the truth, there is not. The national identity was systematically destroyed by Soviet state power and it is clear why: The Soviet Union was constructed as a Russian national state.

[Goci] What was the official attitude of Romania in regard to supporting the national identity of Romanians in southern Ukraine?

[Maravela] Everyone knows that Romania, which had treaties of friendship and cooperation with the USSR and treaties for the mutual respect of borders, never mentioned, in any way, the Romanians in southern Bessarabia. Therefore, it is no wonder that some generations of Romanians, placed in such conditions, do not have any Romanian national identity. Therefore, these people call themselves Moldovan, without having a Moldovan state. Rather, they have become Soviets. Although they are alienated from the Romanian ethnos, they have not become Russians. Brezhnev wanted such Soviet men and women: Uzbeks who speak neither Russian nor Uzbek well. The same held true for Azeri, Ukrainians, and so forth. They are Soviets in a Soviet Union which no longer exists—an extremely tragic situation.

[Goci] What forms and what structures exist in southern Bessarabia for informing and educating the Romanians?

[Maravela] There are no newspapers in the Romanian language in southern Bessarabia. Prior to 1990, a newspaper was published, in the Cyrillic script, in Reni Rayon. But this publication was eliminated for economic reasons. There was also a regional newspaper that was conceived and produced by a Romanian of good faith, Vadim Bacinschi, for Moldovans in the Odessa area. But because of a lack of a national identity on the part of the Moldovans in Ukraine and since it did not have the necessary circulation to resist economic pressures, and, especially, since it was not held in high regard by the authorities, it ceased publication. It was published during the 1990-92 period in runs of 1,000-2,000 copies.

[Goci] If the Romanians in southern Bessarabia have an uncertain identity, have they been completely Sovietized?

[Maravela] In southern Bessarabia, the population is delimited not only by Romania but also by the Moldovan Republic. They are Ukrainian citizens but they speak Russian without being able to go into authentic Russian communities.

[Goci] So, what should be done with this "homo Sovieticus" of Romanian origin?

[Maravela] Since the "Sovietization" was carried out in time and also by the attitude of Romania, let us begin the action with Romania. Therefore, measures should be taken by the Romanian Government to facilitate the discovery of Romania as a country by the Bessarabian Romanians—not as a homeland or as a country of origin but as a country in which there are people like themselves who speak the same language. Romanians from Ukraine who come to Romania, for any purpose and length of time, should be treated as citizens of foreign countries, equal to Americans, Somalis, and Bolivians. A Bessarabian Romanian who comes from a country (Ukraine) in which the average wage is between $5 and $10 a month has to pay the same for lodging in Romania as Americans do. Under such conditions, Romania becomes a foreign and distant country for Bessarabian Romanians. As long as the principal source of the Romanian spirit can come only from Romania and is not coming, it becomes impossible to speak about other factors in awakening a Romanian identity.

Efforts To Combat Organized Crime Detailed

94P20968A Bucharest AZI in Romanian 23 Jun 94 p 5

[Article including interview with Col. Mihai Florea, deputy chief of the Brigade for Combatting Organized Crime, by Luiza Cristina; place and date not given: "We Must Always Be Victorious!"]

[Text] [Cristina] What is the sphere of activity of the Brigade for Combatting Organized Crime?

[Florea] At the time of the creation of this unit, a year ago, the aim was for the work which this unit performs to be within a specific area of responsibility. No one wanted this unit to duplicate the work of other units. First of all, we are concerned with drug trafficking—a very broad activity which covers all issues related to drugs. Next comes international trafficking in stolen cars—an "occupation" that is just as intense and has become "fashionable" in recent years—and then, trafficking in human flesh, murder on

command, trafficking in patrimonial objects. We do not have a law yet in regard to the latter and one must be adopted to prevent the removal of valuable objects belonging to our heritage. In brief, we can say that the activity of this brigade covers everything that is called organized crime, everything that is a superior, very specialized form of activity of criminals. Romanian penal legislation in the area of illicit trade in narcotics and hallucinogenic substances must be brought up to the level of international standards and must be in conformity with international conventions to which Romania is a party.

[Cristina] This means special work to expose these crimes.

[Florea] This is quite true. I said earlier that we need people who are well trained and brave because the criminals in this field are are very skillful, regardless of the domains in which they commit their crimes: drugs, trafficking in stolen cars, prostitution, and so forth. They are already specialized. They have become experienced from activity which most of them carried on abroad, in foreign networks, and now, they will be putting into practice the experience accumulated.

[Cristina] Does money laundering also come into your sphere of activity? That is, money from trafficking in hard currency.

[Florea] The problem of money "laundering" is a new activity. Our brigade is concerned with money laundering to the extent to which this money comes from infractions which the brigade has the competency to resolve. For example, in the illicit drug trade, the money obtained from this illegal activity is laundered in different forms: It is brought into a firm, recycled there, and then it goes back into legal circulation, as if it were acquired by legal means.

The same method is used in trafficking in automobiles. Thus, in this regard, money laundering comes under our jurisdiction.

[Cristina] With which foreign police forces and with which directorates in the IGP [General Inspectorate for the Police] do you collaborate?

[Florea] We have very broad collaboration and I can say that, along with the Interpol International Bureau, our unit is the only one in the IGP that is equipped to have direct connections with the other police organs in Europe and in the entire world and certain steps have been taken to have direct contacts with these police bodies. We have been visited by foreign delegations and agreements have been signed on the ministerial level. At the present time, we have very good cooperation with the majority of the police organs in Europe. At the same time, we have good collaboration with Interpol, which supports us effectively in our activity by means of communications and inspections on the international level. Of course, we have the same type of collaboration with the following directorates of the IGP: the Directorate for Combatting Economic and Financial Crime, the Directorate for Weapons and Munitions, the Criminal Police Directorate, and other groups in the Ministry of Interior. I can also list some other departments or groups related to our work which are not in the Ministry of Interior.

[Cristina] Can you name some of the countries with which you are in contact most often?

[Florea] In the domain of drugs, which is my field of interest, contact with the countries through which the so-called "Balkan route" passes has taken very clear form during recent years, because of circumstantial factors affecting our country. By means of this route, drugs are transited from the East through Romania to the West. Thus, I would name the following countries: Germany, Austria, Hungary, Switzerland, Slovakia, Bulgaria, and Turkey. Operations are in the initial phase for the last two countries. Even though France or Italy are not included in the "Balkan route," we have had good working relationships with the police in these countries. And also with the U.S. police. Although there is an ocean between us, we have collaborated very well in apprehending dangerous criminals from the United States who have come to Romania; we caught them and handed them over to the U.S. Government, in accordance with the law on extradition.

[Cristina] So, you have given us a summary of the activity of the brigade from its establishment upto the present. How would you grade this activity?

[Florea] This is a hard question because we are not the ones who give the grades. But I would call it a good activity for a unit which has just been established and which is carrying on its activity under substandard conditions. We could have better results but this requires the improvement of the organizational framework and of the equipment. We are not satisfied with intercepting large quantities of drugs or counterfeit money, but we are interested in discovering the channels. When we have exposed a channel from beginning to end, we can say that we are satisfied. Recently, with very great effort, we exposed a network of drug traffickers that began in Turkey and ended in Germany.

[Cristina] Have you lost any men?

[Florea] No. When work is done in a skilled manner, with a great deal of tact, patience, and professionalism, no men are lost. It is a battle of intellects between the criminal and the police officer. The police have many more resources. The brigade officer must always win. The law helps him and the citizens can help him. The police officer knows how to do his work well, so that he can provide protection for anyone who gives him information that would lead to the exposing of important figures in a crime ring.

Problems of Romanian Workers in Israel

94P20975A Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 22 Jun 94 p 1

[Article by Mona Scarisoreanu: "Working on the 'Black Market' in a Foreign Land—The Wanderings of the 10,000 Romanian Workers Attracted by Israeli Firms to the Promised Land"]

[Text] After 1989, many people tried their luck and left the country to work among foreigners and to earn a bit more money. Recently, Germany, the "promised land," closed its borders, not only to immigrants but also to people who wanted to work there. Then there was a redirection of the labor force toward Israel. The Israeli Government gave approval for some 15,000 foreign workers to work on the construction of some new buildings (it is possible that this number will be increased). So far, about 10,000 Romanian construction workers and also some agricultural workers have arrived in Israel. They were sent in a disorganized manner, without any input from Romanian enterprises. It seems that so-called "black-market work" has been discovered in Israel. The Romanians who go to work in Israel are paid the ridiculous wage of $1.70-$2.10 an hour (with not a cent going to their families in Romania), and they lose their job seniority for the period that they are out of the country.

In order to be able to work in the "Holy Land," some of them paid intermediaries $25-$300 for so-called visa taxes, despite the fact that such taxes are not paid in the case of departures for work. Just like many people who go out for wool and come home shorn, when the Romanian workers arrived in the foreign country, they were hit by a brutal reality: They were housed under conditions that were worse than indecent, their passports were taken away from them, despite the fact that this was illegal, and income taxes were withheld from their inconsequential wages, despite the fact that monthly wages of $700 and less are exempt from taxes. Finally, the *mamaliga* [corn mush] exploded. Without money, without plane tickets to return home, and without passports, the workers attracted by the mirage of the dollar asked for the assistance of the Romanian Embassy in Israel. The embassy informed the appropriate authorities in Romania but they washed their hands of the case. The situation created problems for both parties. Because of massive departures of bricklayers, carpenters, painters, and so forth (craftsmen who are in short supply in Romania), some enterprises have no workers even though they have contracts and obligations to execute. The Israelis said that, since there was no serious examination of qualifications, after the Romanian workers arrived in the country, some of them did not know their trades or they practiced the trades under conditions which differed from current conditions. Therefore, some Israeli firms sent up to 30 percent of the workers back to Romania, after only a week.

To prevent such situations, the Romanian Association of Construction Entrepreneurs (ARACO) has established contacts with Israeli employers in the construction industry and has signed a cooperation agreement. It was decided that workers will be sent only by the enterprises in which they work and to which they will return when their tour ends; Israeli visas will be given only after a professional examination, by ARACO, of each worker recommended for departure for Israel; Israeli firms will be obliged to pay the same wage to Romanians as to Israeli workers; and $100 a month will be withheld from the remuneration and sent to their enterprises in Romania, which will pay compensation to the workers' families in Romania.

PDAR on 'Disastrous' State of Agriculture

94P20919A Bucharest EVENIMENTUL ZILEI in Romanian 18 Jun 94 p 3

[Article by Iulian Bostan: "There Are 5 Million Metric Tons of Grain in the Fields That No One Is Buying"; including the protest appeal by Victor Surdu, chairman of the PDAR]

[Text] [Bostan] A current indisputable reality is the indifference of the Vacaroiu government to the fate of the peasants. On this subject, the PDAR [Democratic Agrarian Party of Romania] sent the president, the parliament, and the government a protest, alerting them to the disastrous state of this year's grain harvest.

The future harvest, more than 5 million tons of grain, will not have any buyers since the government says there is no money and the banks are not giving credits to potential buyers. This situation will not only cause gigantic losses for the Romanian economy but will also be the ruination of the small peasant farms.

For this reason, we are supporting, without reservation, the protest of the PDAR, which we consider to be completely justified.

Protest Appeal

To the President of Romania, the President of the House of Deputies, the President of the Senate, the Prime Minister, and the Supreme Defense Council of the Country:

We are addressing you on a matter of maximum national interest. At the present time, the wheat reserve of the Romanian state is one-fifth of the minimum quantity needed. There are prospects of obtaining an good harvest but there is also a danger of wasting it and of it not being bought. In order to keep from arriving at this situation, it is absolutely necessary that a credit of 800 billion lei be given, for the specific purpose of buying barley and wheat, with a preferential bonus. This credit will be secured by the barley and wheat which will come from the harvest, as a commodity. The following reasons should be taken into consideration in satisfying these demands.

1. Barley and wheat represent the strongest security for the Romanian leu, a true hard currency.

In the international sphere, well-stored grains are one of the most solid securities for the national currency of the respective country.

There are in the fields some five million tons of grain which no one is buying, which are exposed to hailstorms, floods, and other losses, since the banks do not have credit ceilings because we do not have available funds up to the limit of the money in circulation.

2. According to estimates, 800 billion lei are needed to purchase barley and wheat.

3. Under today's conditions, there is only one solution: The National Bank of Romania must immediately increase its monetary resources by the amount of money needed to buy the barley and wheat harvests.

4. This increase in the monetary resources does not generate inflation since since no currency is issued without being covered by goods and services.

5. Today, the volume of the monetary resources in Romania in relation to the volume of goods and services is smaller than in the [other] European countries, which justifies the financial freeze in Romania: 28-30 percent in Romania, compared to 48-52 percent in other countries.

The providing of the necessary monetary resources for the purchase of wheat and barley does not lead to the accentuation of inflation since:

a. By delivery to the state reserves, a normal ratio is maintained between the volume of goods and the monetary resources;

b. By utilizing grains for bread, flour, bread products, meat, beer, and so forth, some 1,500-1,600 billion lei are received from the population, and monetary resources representing twice the 800 billion lei increase are absorbed;

c. Out of the sums of money paid for the grains sold, farmers repay the credits to the financing banks and integrators, giving them the opportunity to refinance during the 1994-1995 agricultural year, removing the freeze on funds for agriculture and providing it with its own sources of gaining capital.

6. The failure to purchase barley and wheat will result in:

—depreciation in the fields;

—depreciation in the peasants' farms;

—failure to provide for the state reserves;

—resort to imports, once again;

—an increase in inflation by a forced increase in the price of bread, and therefore, in the price of meat, milk, and other products, as well as by increasing wages, and so forth.

7. If these problems are not resolved, the tense situation in the ranks of the farmers will not be able to be controlled. The farmers, stimulated by the providing of large sums of money to other socioprofessional groups, will not be able to understand why its only the money which is given to farmers which causes inflation and will have the motivation and justification to come to Bucharest for explanations and to demand their rights.

We believe that only by receptivity to the legitimate demands of the farmers, by providing 800 billion lei in credits immediately, will a national policy, in the interest of the nation, be created.

In the name of the PDAR Chairman, Dr. Eng. Victor Surdu

Meat Stockpiled in State Producer Units

94P20934A Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 14 Jun 94 p 1

[Article by Adriana Vela: "Meat Is Being Imported and Being Sold at High Prices While Warehouses Are Full of Meat"]

[Excerpts] Recently, animals belonging to the state producer commercial companies could not be slaughtered because there was no room for meat in the depositories. [passage omitted]

In the state poultry units, the depositories had 5,100 metric tons of poultry, while only 117-120 tons per day were being sold and there were 30 million eggs with an average sale of 1.5 million a day. According to sources in the Ministry of Agriculture, the only scarce product is milk, as a result of the loss of two million milk cows at the time of decollectivization in 1990. But, according to some estimates, these cows, which would produce only two liters of milk a day, would have supplied only a minimal amount of milk.

All these figures refer to the state sector. Stockpiles belonging to the food industry, private producers, and, last but not least, to merchants who, under the protection of the Ministry of Trade and in violation of the ministry's Regulation No. 10 of 16 March 1994, as the entire country knows, have been importing chickens from the United States at prices and under conditions which could easily be called dumping.

The drama of the national stockpiles of these basic products is a result of the weak purchasing power of the Romanian consumer who is confronted with monthly price increases. Ministry of Agriculture sources (who would like to remain anonymous) estimate that, at present, 80 percent of agricultural expenses are not of an agricultural nature but are strictly industrial. The prices in this important economic sector—which, unfortunately, has become unprofitable as regards its contribution to the budget—have increased, according to some parameters, threefold to tenfold. This is the general situation in regard to prices in the agricultural production area. [passage omitted]

Izetbegovic To Address Congress on Plan 18 Jul

AU1407193594 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 14 Jul 94

[Text] The meeting of the Bosniak Congress [words indistinct] at the crucial time that the decision on the future of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the mainly Bosniak people is to be made. Considering the challenges of the moment, it has been decided that it is necessary for a wider representative body of the Bosniak people to examine in detail all the consequences of the plan on offer for Bosnia-Herzegovina. This was said at today's news conference by the Initiation Committee of the Bosniak Congress.

The session has been called for Monday 18 July and it has only one point on the agenda: The analysis of the peace plan that has been offered by the contact group for Bosnia-Herzegovina. Four hundred and forty participants, representatives of political parties, war presidencies of communes, and other prominent people in the republic have been invited to the session.

Edhem Bicakcic, member of the Initiation Committee of the Bosniak Congress, said that the Congress can make relevant decisions, but ones that are not binding on the Bosnia-Herzegovina Assembly. However, considering the structures involved, this meeting can make decisions that have moral strength, and that can make it easier for the deputies in the Bosnia-Herzegovina Assembly to make the final decision.

Alija Isakovic, chairman of the Initiation Committee of the Bosniak Congress, said that he expected opposing views on the support to the plan on offer, but that he was hoping that reason would prevail. He also said that the decision will help the assembly deputies to make the best decision possible now for the Bosniak people.

Representatives from all the Bosnia-Herzegovina regions will attend the session. The session is to last just one day, and the opening report will be presented by Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency President Alija Izetbegovic.

Izetbegovic Praises Opening of French Embassy

AU1407183894 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 14 Jul 94

[Address by Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency President Alija Izetbegovic on occasion of the opening of the French Embassy in Sarajevo on 14 July—recorded]

[Text] For over two centuries 14 July has been the most important date for the Republic of France. As of today, this date has been entered into our history. We see the opening of this embassy as a sign of clear support by official France for our struggle for the defense of freedom and democracy. The other, I would say, more real France, as embodied in its public opinion, in its cultural and intellectual [word indistinct], in its individuals that have been preserving in this generation the historical [word indistinct], this France has been with us from the first day. This is to the great honor of the French people, who—in their long and turbulent history—have found themselves many times on side of the righteous and just.

I do not think that I am wrong in saying that—through this high diplomatic office in Bosnia-Herzegovina—France will gain among our people new recognition and sympathies.

Mr. Ambassador Henry Jacolin, I wish you and your associates success in your ethical and honorable mission. Thank you.

Court Denies Rejection of Contact Group Plan

AU1407200694 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 14 Jul 94

[Text] During the editing of the text on the maps on the partitioning of Bosnia-Herzegovina on 12 July 1994, a serious error was made by the B-H PRESS editorial section to the effect that the Constitutional Court of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina addressed the public with an official statement on the proposed documents [word indistinct]. The Constitutional Court of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina has issued an official statement informing the public that this institution has not made or distributed a statement on the partition maps of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The B-H PRESS is apologizing to the Constitutional Court of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and all the users of this agency, informing the public that the said case was only a personal view of one of the judges in the Constitutional Court of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Juppe Warns Serbs Against Total Isolation

BR1407122694 Paris LE FIGARO in French 14 Jul 94 p 11

[Report by Alex Gautier: "Sarajevo's Grudging 'Yes' to Peace Plan"]

[Text] "This is not a good plan. Quite the contrary. But all other options would be worse..." Bosnia's president, Alija Izetbegovic, wanted things to be clear: The Bosnians will very likely agree to the plan devised by the contact group (America, Russia, Great Britain, Germany, France), but they will do so grudgingly. They said so to Douglas Hurd and Alain Juppe who had come to Bosnia in a bid to convince all parties.

"The plan's main deficiency," the Bosnian president went on, "is a moral one: Many cities and villages where the Serbs perpetrated ethnic cleansing and veritable genocides will remain under their control. This is why our assent is only temporary... There is one prerequisite: Bosnia must remain a State within its internationally recognized frontiers. The integrity and sovereignty of the country must be guaranteed by the plan."

On wednesday [13 July] in Sarajevo, Alain Juppe endeavored to reassure the Bosnians: "We acknowledge your determination to have your frontiers guaranteed."

he insisted, before pointing out that this was already provided for by the plan. The French [foreign] minister and his British counterpart promised to be very firm on this point in the talks they were going to have with the Serbs both in Pale and Belgrade.

The two envoys of the contact group then flew to the Bosnian Serbs' capital: Pale. After one and a half hour of talks with Radovan Karadzic, the president of the self-styled "Serbian Republic of Bosnia," Douglas Hurd and Alain Juppe failed to wring from him even the slightest hint that he might say yes to the plan. "The representatives of the contact group are taking the Serb party as seriously as anyone," Karadzic simply said, adding: "We shall not agree to a situation where we would not be given an international status similar to that enjoyed by Ukraine within the former USSR." (Editor's note: during the Soviet era, Kiev held a UN seat).

Alain Juppe insisted on stating the following: "We came to try and convince the Serbs that this time, a refusal or unnecessary dawdling on their part would totally isolate them from the international community." Discontent within the population, diplomatic pressure, defection of the Russian ally: The Serb's parliament, which is expected to make its decision on Monday [18 July], will need to take all such data into account before agreeing to the plan—which would mean giving back 20 percent of the territories under Serb control—or rejecting it, and therefore choosing to carry on with the war.

Ganic Discusses Serbian Position on Peace Plan

AU1407134094 Paris AFP in English 1258 GMT 14 Jul 94

[Text] Sarajevo, July 14 (AFP)—The Bosnian Serbs' hardline attitude and likely rejection of the Geneva peace plan is threatening to bring down their main patron, Serbia, Bosnian Federation Vice President Ejup Ganic said Thursday [14 July]. The Bosnian Serbs, whose parliament is expected to vote on the peace plan Monday, "will say yes, but... and that's a rejection," Ganic told AFP.

The international community should then "squeeze" the Serbs through sanctions, he added. The hardline attitude of Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic, who Wednesday cold-shouldered the peace plan in talks with the French and British foreign ministers, was helping boost international support for the Bosnian federation and opposition to the Serbs, he also said. "If he (Karadzic) is around for another six months or a year, then Serbia will go down the drain.

Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic "designed a monster, but he cannot get him back to the laboratory," he added. The Bosnian Parliament, for its part, is expected to approve the Geneva peace plan which has the backing of the government here. The international community has threatened further sanctions against Serbia and a gradual lifting of the arms embargo against Bosnia if Bosnian Serbs reject the partition plan.

Milosevic Said To Be Behind Pro-Bosnian Rally

AU1407185494 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 14 Jul 94

[Text] A (protest) meeting was held in Modrica today by citizens of Serbian nationality, demanding that immediate measures be undertaken for the return of expelled Croats and Bosniaks to this city. As the Bosnia-Herzegovina Ministry of Internal Affairs states, the organizers of this rally—of the kind that is unusual in the so-called Serb republic—were (Gago) Drinic, Nebojsa (Prekin), Ruza Stojic, and Savka Ilic, who demanded that soldiers from the region of Bosnian Krajina leave Modrica because of their arrogant and violent attitude toward the local population, and the increased number of thefts and rape.

The local authorities sent in an army unit, which beat up and detained the organizers of the rally and dispersed the other citizens. The organizers of this rally are members of the League of Communists-Movement for Yugoslavia, and it is quite likely that the Serbian regime, that is, Slobodan Milosevic is trying to use them to influence Radovan Karadzic and ensure his cooperative behavior, or even remove him from the political scene. After the peace ultimatum by the contact group, Karadzic has simply come to the end of the mandate given to him by Milosevic four years ago, when he formed the terrorist Serbian Democratic Party.

Krajina Officer Denies Involvement in Bihac

LD1407170494 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1635 GMT 14 Jul 94

[Text] Knin, 14 July (TANJUG)—Deputy commander of the [Croatian] Serb army of Krajina [SVK] Col Marinko Gajic this evening denied information furnished by REUTERS in Zagreb that SVK units had clashed with Muslim forces in the Bihac region. "SVK units have not been involved, and will not become involved, in the inter-Muslim conflict", Gajic told TANJUG's correspondent. He also denied REUTERS' story about the alleged shelling of units of the Muslim V Corps, loyal to Alija Izetbegovic, from SVK positions, as well as the news on the deployment of Krajina troops and tanks on territories controlled by Fikret Abdic. According to Gajic, it was calm today along the entire separation line with the Bihac region and there had been no attempts by Muslim troops loyal to the Sarajevo authorities to cross the Serb Krajina border.

UNPROFOR: Army Seizes Two Hills in Bihac

AU1507104794 Paris AFP in English 1022 GMT 15 Jul 94

[Text] Sarajevo, July 15 (AFP)—Bosnian Government forces have seized two hills in the western Bihac enclave during heavy fighting with Serb forces, a UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) spokesman said here Friday [15 July]. Fifth Corps government forces seized two hills in the Grabez plateau area, east of Bihac town, where heavy fighting has been going on for the past week, Major Rob

Annink said. Meanwhile, fighting continued in the area Friday morning following overnight shelling and intense machine-gun and small arms fire, he said.

The clashes continued despite Tuesday's renewal of a month-long truce between the Moslem-led and Serb forces. Shelling was also reported in northern Bosnia, notably near Doboj and along the strategic Posavina corridor—a narrow strip of land linking the western and eastern halves of Serb-held territory in Bosnia. An increase in machine gun and small arms fire, often associated with infantry assaults, was reported Friday morning on the western Ozren front, near Blizna—where the most serious fighting has been taking place over the past four weeks.

Shelling of the eastern Ozren front occurred throughout Thursday. The Ozren mountain, held by the Serbs, juts out like a crooked finger into government-held northern territory. Bosnian forces have sought to cut their way through it in a series of assaults which, UN officials said, appeared to have left large-scale casualties.

One government offensive recently got bogged down in a minefield where it was blasted by shellfire, senior UN officers said here. This provoked a near mutiny among soldiers ordered to carry on with the attack.

Intra-Muslim Fighting in Cazin Krajina Continues

LD1407232994 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2216 GMT 14 Jul 94

["Pool" item]

[Text] Petrovac, July 14 (TANJUG)—Intra-Moslem fighting in the Cazin Krajina in western Bosnia continued Thursday, local Radio Velkaton said. Cazin Krajina troops routed a large terrorist-commando team of the forces loyal to radical Moslem authorities in Sarajevo, inflicting on it heavy losses in personnel and materiel, said the radio broadcasting from the western Bosnian centre of Velika Kladusa.

Intra-Moslem fighting broke out in the Cazin Krajina last autumn, after this Moslem enclave had declared its autonomy from the Sarajevo regime in protest against the war-mongering policy of Moslem hardliner Alija Izetbegovic. Battles have escalated over the past fortnight, particularly since the conflict has spread to Bihac, local stronghold of Izetbegovic's loyalists.

According to a Cazin Krajina government statement, the Bihac population's uprising against the extremists is the beginning of a struggle for the final liberation of Bihac and the other occupied parts of the Moslem autonomous province of western Bosnia. The statement said the uprising had been organized by the town's patriots and a struggle was about to begin for the liberation of Cazin and Buzim, which are still occupied by Izetbegovic's loyalists.

A defeat of the "armed fundamentalist-fascist formations of the (ruling Moslem) party of democratic action and their mercenaries... will bring our people and our region peace, freedom, democracy and prosperity," the statement said.

Sarajevo Radio: Aid Only Delivered to Abdic

AU1407183794 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 14 Jul 94

[Report by Mirza Sadikovic from Bihac]

[Text] The Chetniks have been shelling the areas of Cazin, Buzim, and Bosanska Krupa, and the defense lines on the Grmusko-Srbljanski plateau, that is, the Bihac part of the front. Nor have the rebels of war criminal Fikret Abdic been quiet, as they have been attacking along the entire front line throughout the day.

Obviously there is need for another exercise of the Tiger-Freedom 94 type to reveal completely the involvement of certain [words indistinct] of the (United Nations) in the conflict. Since the beginning of May, not one kilogram of humanitarian aid has arrived in this area, while the UNHCR has over the last few days brought lots of it and distributed it in [Abdic-controlled] Velika Kladusa. The question is: Why is only the road to Velika Kladusa passable?

Sarajevo Radio Reports Serbs Shelling Gradacac

AU1407183694 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 14 Jul 94

[Report by the Gradacac Information Center]

[Text] The aggressor has been relentlessly pounding the center of Gradacac and the surrounding area with tanks, hill cannons, and recoilless guns. Over 100 shells of various calibers have landed on the residential areas, while defense lines in Novalici, Rajska, and Vida have been exposed to mortar shelling and fire from antiarmor weapons. It is hell in Gradacac today. The city of dangerous living is awaiting the night with uncertainty.

Army Reportedly Thwarts Serbian Infiltration

AU1507085494 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 15 Jul 94

[Report by Hamid Deronjic]

[Text] There was no peace overnight on the Brcko front. The Serbian aggressor was at his most active on the central part of the front, where at 2130 he attempted to infiltrate a reconnaissance and subversion group. The members of the 100th Motorized Brigade opened fire at the enemy subversion unit and pushed it far back from our positions. Fierce enemy activity that followed confirms that the aggressor paid dearly for this attempt at endangering the Brcko defense lines. The night and the first morning hours on the other parts of the Brcko front were marked by the usual Serb provocations, who used

mortars, antiaircraft machine guns, antiaircraft guns, and machine guns to target the Brcko defense. There were no casualties in the ranks of the Bosnian defenders last night.

Turkish President Cancels Visit to Sarajevo

AU1507081794 Paris AFP in English 0748 GMT 15 Jul 94

[Text] Sarajevo, July 15 (AFP)—Turkish President Suleyman Demirel was to visit Turkish troops in central Bosnia Friday [15 July] after being forced to call off a planned trip to Sarajevo because of fears for his safety, UN officials said. Demirel had been due here for talks with Bosnia counterpart Alija Izetbegovic, ahead of a three-way summit this weekend with Croatian President Franjo Tudjman, but "the UN asked him not to come," a Turkish diplomat said here Thursday evening.

The UN cited "the security risks" involved in the visit and said they "could not provide protection", the diplomat added. It was understood here that Serb objections to the visit might have prompted the last-minute UN action.

Instead, the UN will fly Demirel to Zenica for a visit to the nearly 1,500 Turkish soldiers serving with the UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR), who began deploying last week in that area and nearby Kakanj, both of which are under Moslem-Croat control, according to UN spokesman Major Dacre Holloway.

Demirel, who had been due to go to Zenica from Sarajevo, will instead fly by UN helicopter from Split, on the Croatian coast, to Zenica for a few hours with his troops, Holloway said. The Turkish soldiers, from a logistics and an armoured infantry battalion, have arrived in central Bosnia to help rebuild the local infrastructure in an area where fighting earlier opposed Croats and Moslems.

Their mission, according to UN officials, will also be to "stop banditry which is on the increase in that area". The Turkish troops were expected to assist local police and, by their presence, deter highway attacks by armed bands who roam the countryside. The Turkish troops on the ground are being kept well away from the confrontation lines with the Bosnian Serbs who have strongly objected to their presence among UNPROFOR troops.

The Ottoman Empire ruled much of the former Yugoslavia for some 500 years following the battle of Kosovo in which they defeated the Serbs in 1382. The Turkish troops were originally due to be moved from Croatia into Bosnia on June 28, but UNPROFOR cited technical reasons for the delay. June 28 is the anniversary of the battle of Kosovo. Turkey, along with the United States, was one of the prime movers in achieving a reconciliation between Bosnian Moslems and Croats who, in March, set up a new federation.

The aim of the planned summit between Demirel, Tudjman and Izetbegovic, Saturday or Sunday, on the Croatian island of Brioni—the holiday hideaway of former Yugoslav leader Josef Broz Tito—is to further reconciliation between Moslems and Croats and seek closer ties between the two former Yugoslav republics of Bosnia and Croatia, according to Turkish diplomatic sources.

Both Croatia and Bosnia face separatist rebellions by ethnic Serbs.

Dutch UNPROFOR Battalion Commander Relieved

BR1407151394 Rotterdam ALGEMEEN DAGBLAD in Dutch 12 Jul 94 p 5

[Unattributed article: "Dutch Battalion Commander Relieved"]

[Text] Lieutenant Colonel Everts, new commander of the Netherlands airborne UN battalion in eastern Bosnia (Dutchbat), left for Srebenica yesterday [11 July]. He will relieve Lieutenant Colonel Vermeulen as commanding officer of Dutchbat. In addition, 145 new soldiers for Dutchbat traveled with Everts to eastern Bosnia to replace colleagues.

The new commander will remain in Srebenica for six months. Most of the Netherlands UN troops in eastern Bosnia have the job of protecting the Muslim enclave against Serbian attacks and improving living conditions in the area. Everts will be briefed in the coming days by Vermeulen, who in a week and a half will return to the Netherlands. Vermeulen has told him that it is calm round Srebenica.

Muslim Organization Issues Statement on Plan

AU1407194794 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 14 Jul 94

[Text] The Main Committee of the Muslim-Bosniak Organization in today's statement for the public proposed the acceptance of negotiations on the future of Bosnia-Herzegovina, while the acceptance of the latest Contact Group plan should be conditional on its further correction and the return of more [words indistinct] territory of the Federation. The Federation should get 58 percent of the territory, and it should include 50 to 70 percent of the territory of the Foca, Prijedor, Zvornik, Bratunac, Vlasenica, and Banja Luka communes. The Muslim-Bosniak Organization believes that the United Nations and the European Union should be asked to provide solid guarantees for establishing security and material conditions for the return of expelled and displaced persons to their homes.

UN Seen as Promoting 'Jihad' Involvement

94BA0340A Belgrade VOJSKA in Serbo-Croatian 5 May 94 p 11

[Article by Milan Mijalkovski: "The 'Holy Warriors' in Full Swing"]

[Text] Last year, the United Nations decided against sending 3,000 members of Pakistan's armed forces to the peacekeeping operation in Bosnia because they supposedly were not equipped with appropriate weapons. Now, about 2,700 Turkish soldiers are being trained for the same purpose, and Germany is expressing a willingness to provide the Pakistani soldiers the weapons in question, thereby eliminating the obstacle.

These facts would not deserve any particular attention if Pakistan and Turkey (and Germany) had not long ago and on several occasions committed themselves militarily not only on the side of the Bosnian Muslims, but even in inciting them within the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia]. Because the UN Security Council is very well aware of their role in fanning the flames of religious war on the soil of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina (B-H), there is good reason to ask the question: Does the United Nations sincerely intend to end the war, or is it consciously giving in to the "jihad"? If the kinsmen of the holy warriors set foot on the soil of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, even under Blue Helmets, it will be utterly clear where the United Nations is headed. The Chinese proposal that recently came to light about the need to reassess the peacekeeping operations of the United Nations so that it "strictly follows the objectives and principles of the UN Charter" is sufficient warning of the indicative behavior of the world organization, especially on the territory of the former Yugoslavia.

The Balkans: Priority Objective of the "Holy Warriors"

Among the numerous illegal terrorist preparations of the SDA [Democratic Action Party] of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina for war, passage (in May 1991) of the "Program for Immigration of Bosnians From Turkey" (about 4 million, mainly to settle on Serbian lands) was an extremely significant activity. In early 1993, Turgut Ozal, Turkish president, initiated a strong campaign to revive the former Ottoman Empire. As part of the study of the possibility of "surrounding" Serbia, he visited Albania and the FYROM [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia] with an entourage of about 200 specialists; while there, he received the leader of the Skipetar terrorists from the FRY, and he also visited Croatia, after which he quickly began the holy war between the Muslims and Croats. Recently, the prime ministers of Turkey and Pakistan, Tansu Ciler and Benazir Bhutto, respectively, visited the Muslim section of Sarajevo. These facts indicate quite convincingly the continuity of the activity of Islamic fundamentalists in the Balkans.

Up to now, the mojahedin from Turkey and Pakistan have been arriving regularly in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, some of them even through Germany, and future sehiti [martyrs] from the territory of the former Yugoslavia have been sent to Turkey for military training.

It was not by magic that U.S. Stinger surface-to-air missiles, given at one time to Afghanistani mojahedin to fight the Russians, ended up in the hands of the Bosnian Muslims. The Pakistani military intelligence service Interservice Intelligence (ISI), which in Peshawar recruited, trained, and sent to the former Bosnia-Herzegovina an undetermined number of "holy warriors" to fight the Serbs, supplied them with those weapons. One of the centers for training elite units of the Muslim army (volunteers willing to sacrifice their lives for the jihad) is located in the Tuzla region, where instructors from the Islamic countries have arrived, pretending to be businessmen or involved in the humanitarian aid effort.

During 1993, the Turkish media reported affirmatively about the all- inclusive preparations of mojahedin from that and other Islamic countries to depart for the "holy war" in Bosnia. They were quite emphatic that the holy warriors were doing this out of conviction. There are numerous indicators that this actually is not altogether true, but that this is a very well-paid occupation. That is, reported caravans of mercenaries began to arrive in Bosnia only when the Islamic Development Bank (ICDD) decided to finance this "project." Even the Turkish newspaper SABAH, which has a large circulation, has written that the "holy warriors" for Bosnia are being motivated with "dry gold" furnished by a Turkish moneybag and politician.

We do not have reliable information of how many mojahedin have gone to Bosnia from the Islamic countries, because an undetermined number of them have arrived from Germany, where they first received thorough training for warfare in the vicinity of Munich. The coordinated involvement of Germany and Turkey, with the knowledge and aid of NATO on this mission, has been confirmed by several mojahedin from Turkey who survived and returned there, confirming once again the fact that once their hitch, for which they were paid well, was over, the incentive arising from "convictions" disappeared. "We were trained on exercise grounds of NATO," says Januz Nesrijat. Or: "The trip was superbly organized. I reached Bosnia with a group of 40 Turkish mojahedin," says Muhamed Genel, and so on.

The Croats, former and present allies of the Muslims, who paid a heavy price for arranging the transit of those mojahedin from the Islamic countries across Croatia, joined the Serbs in discovering what kind of criminals they were.

Return in the Role of "Peacemakers"

It is known on reliable authority that the group of Turkish soldiers (2,700) being trained for the UN peacekeeping operation in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina will also include a large number of mojahedin who have already been waging war to create an "Islamic Bosnia" for some time, some more, some less. That is why the possible arrival of this Turkish contingent on the territory of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina would be an ideal opportunity for legalization of Turkey's military participation on the side of the Muslims and for provoking

incidents aimed at bringing in the NATO air force to protect the "peacekeepers." The thesis that the Turks will be deployed on the line that separates the Muslim and Croatian forces should be very carefully interpreted by the Croats, especially Croatia's main protector (Germany), because no alliance is for forever.

There is no doubt that the number of soldiers that the United Nations is planning to send to the former Bosnia-Herzegovina (even as many as 50,000) could be much less, even symbolic, if the Croats and Muslims who have been provoking holy war realize that they cannot have what does not belong to them, and which they have been trying to get by waging war. That kind of sobering up, however, is not very likely to come from A. Izetbegovic and F. Tudjman. After all, it must first mature in the minds of those from whom they take orders, and only then would it be communicated to them. They will, of course, heed it, just as they did recently in signing the agreement.

UN, Other Organizations Said Helping Muslims

94BA0340B Belgrade VOJSKA in Serbo-Croatian 5 May 94 p 16

[Article by Cedomir Popovic: "Abuses Without Limit"]

[Text] How could the Muslims in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina (B-H) have been able to wage war for two years and conduct offensive operations from their enclaves in Srebrenica, Zepa, and Gorazde if, in spite of the proclaimed embargo, they had nevertheless not been receiving a steady supply of weapons and ammunition? They have also been receiving aid in other ways, and the list of those involved in this is rather varied, from countries or groups of countries to international nongovernmental and humanitarian organizations, including, unfortunately, even the United Nations itself. When they bombed or shelled the Bosnian Serbs, the United Nations abandoned their disinterested role.

Why such a sharp reaction from Sacirbej, the Muslim representative in the United Nations, to the mild hints of Butrus-Ghali that the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] could pull out of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina? Only a small portion of the humanitarian convoys under the sponsorship of the United Nations are within the range of the Serbian authorities, yet weapons intended for the Muslims have been discovered in them several times. What, then, is reaching them from Split to central Bosnia, where the Serbian side has no access? Ammunition for antiaircraft machine guns produced in Iran and Saudi Arabia, medical and propaganda supplies with Islamic content printed in Saudi Arabia were found in a convoy of a French humanitarian organization under sponsorship of the UNHCR [UN High Commission for Refugees], which was recently stopped in Kasindolskaya Street.

The airport where the NATO transport planes land as on an assembly line is right next to Nedjarici and Kasindolskaya Street, which are held by the Serbs, and because Serbs from the Muslim part of Sarajevo are involved in the monitoring, frequently under pressure, is there any great mystery about what they are carrying? In a convoy of Swedish soldiers on 10 April, ammunition and antitank rockets were discovered near Kobiljaca in a quantity larger than stated in the declaration. The Serbian authorities at Ilidza last year found several thousand fuzes for artillery shells in oxygen bottles intended for the Sarajevo Hospital.

How else can one interpret the fact that members of the British SAS in UN uniforms guided the NATO airplanes, which was admitted even by General Rose, but as an abuse of the United Nations and aid to one of the parties? According to Rose, some of the "communications officers" were evacuated by UN helicopter from Gorazde, where several UN observers and two representatives each from the International Red Cross and Doctors Without Borders remained. As for the latter, it should be said that before the first air strike an unnamed French physician broadcast from Gorazde messages such as "hundreds of civilian casualties in Gorazde," and on the eve of the second strike officials of the UNHCR sent messages in the same style. There is evidence that Doctors Without Borders was active even after the bombardment in its report of 21 April, carried by EuroNews: "In Gorazde, 436 people lost their lives. Half of them were children and the elderly." The question is what exactly is the role of some of the humanitarian personnel who are so concerned about "children and the elderly" and are supposedly independent of the authorities of the particular countries, but are actually calling in the bombers and serving quite definite interests of state? It is obvious that in what some people refer to as the "new world order" there is a clear division of roles, and some of the work is being done even by certain nongovernmental organizations, when the governments of the particular countries or the United Nations itself, in order to preserve what little moral credit remains to it, cannot do it directly. The factory Pobjeda, which formerly was part of the defense industry, is operating in Gorazde to meet the needs of the Muslims, and the mixtures necessary to make mortar shells are being brought in by UNPROFOR helicopter.

The aid of the Islamic world to the Muslims in Bosnia is a chapter to itself. A special fund has been established for aid to the Muslims in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, which is centered in Saudi Arabia, and Benazir Bhutto confirmed its existence on his arrival in Sarajevo when he said that Pakistan had joined the fund. These groups have convinced Alija Izetbegovic that his task is to create a quality nuclei of personnel for the first Islamic state in Europe, and he does not have to worry about money. He is thus undertaking a large-scale restructuring and is making Silajdzic chief of operations of that team. Large quantities of money, Islamic literature, instructors of Islam, and units of mojahedini, who have everywhere proven to be poor fighters, but are disposed to committing atrocities against the weak, have been arriving from the Islamic world. On the eve of the war, the Muslims

were trying to use the money they received to weaken the Croats militarily, and so, as in Vares, they had been purchasing large quantities of arms so that later the Croats had nothing with which to defend themselves. The Srpska republic has vigorously thwarted such attempts. The money from that fund is going to certain points in the Western countries, and from there the weapons and everything else necessary are infiltrated into the former Bosnia-Herzegovina in various ways, including the services of various humanitarian organizations.

If one is to understand more easily the present events around the Tuzla Airport, he must recall that a decision was made within the framework of the Organization of Islamic States that the airport at Tuzla should be opened as soon as possible. The idea was for the Muslims to receive immense quantities of arms through it in a very short time and to undertake a large offensive in the Sava Valley before the world was aware of what was happening. This is confirmed by the increasingly frequent landings of NATO transport planes at the Tuzla Airport, which, in spite of the agreement of the authorities of the Srpska republic with the highest representatives of Russia, are bringing in instructors for Muslim units and weapons. UNPROFOR soldiers are withdrawing from the airport, and control is being taken over by NATO, or, more accurately, by 150 soldiers of the U.S. Army; presumably so as not to put UN soldiers in a position of violating the embargo which that same organization proclaimed. In the offensive against the corridor in the Sava Valley, the Muslims need the help of the Croats, who are already mobilizing in large numbers the Muslim refugees and bringing up the most elite units to the Sava. They are supposed to come from the north, and the present battles from Brcko to Kupres show that the task of the Muslims is to mount an offensive from the south. Joint commands of what until yesterday were enemies are now being formed.

When we realize that the Muslim army at the moment has a total of 112 brigades and 34 battalions, 288,000 soldiers, 51 tanks, 56 armored personnel carriers, and 433 artillery pieces, it is clear that this is a force which can no longer be underestimated.

Tudjman, Silajdzic View Developing Relations

LD1407224494 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2200 GMT 14 Jul 94

[Text] This evening, Croatian President Franjo Tudjman received Haris Silajdzic, prime minister of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Federation Deputy Prime Minister Jadranko Prlic. On this occasion it was concluded that relations are developing very well and that there are fewer problems than could have been envisaged at the time of creating the Federation and the confederation with the Republic of Croatia.

They also discussed the prospects for success of the contact group's plan for Bosnia-Herzegovina and the conclusions adopted at the meeting of the G-7 and Russia in Naples. The Federation assessed this as very favorable, but it is not as yet known whether the plan will be accepted by the Bosnian Serbs. Both sides hold the view that international factors involved in the resolution of that issue must display and use extreme decisiveness so that this unique opportunity for reaching a peaceful solution should not fail.

Croatian, Bosnian Prime Ministers View Talks

LD1407170994 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 14 Jul 94

[Text] [Announcer] Talks between representatives of the Croatian Government, headed by Prime Minister Nikica Valentic, and representatives of the government of the Bosniak-Croat Federation, headed by Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic, ended this afternoon in villa Prekrizje. On the Croatian side, the talks were attended by Mate Granic, deputy prime minister and foreign minister, Deputy Prime Ministers Borislav Skegro, Vladimir Seks, and Ivica Kostovic, Defense Minister Gojko Susak, Finance Minister Bozo Prka, Economy Minister Nadan Vidosevic, and Transport Minister Ivica Mudrinic. The delegation of Bosnia-Herzegovina comprises of Prime Minister Silajdzic, Jadranko Prlic, defense minister and deputy prime minister, and several other ministers. Tihomir Vinkovic has more details.

[Vinkovic] Following the talks, Croatian Prime Minister Nikica Valentic said that this meeting was an act of forging close links between the two countries. As for the concrete results of the talks, he said:

[Begin Valentic recording] We have set up four governmental groups. They will be headed by government ministers. The first group is in charge of the problem of Bosnia-Herzegovina's citizens in transit through Croatia. At the same time, this group is expected to discuss the problems of travel, visas, and all other problems, something that is normal in such relations.

The second group is in charge of transport and communications. It will be headed by the ministers with this portfolio in both governments. The third group will attempt to solve perhaps the most complex problem—economic relations, including the problem of custom duties, taxation, the free trade zone in Ploce, and everything else that the two countries find necessary in their regular activities.

The fourth group will tackle the problem of refugees and displaced people and the problem of taking care of their position and examine possibilities for their return, and everything else that such a set of problems implies.

As early as tomorrow all four groups will hold meetings at our ministries. Over the next eight days experts will be working out the implementation of these principles. The ministers are expected to meet within eight or 15 days, at latest, and try to suggest final solutions to either government. I believe that Mr. Silajdzic and I will reach agreement, regardless of the problems, during this summer or early September, thereby, we will definitively make decisions in a sphere that is vital to both countries. [end recording]

[Vinkovic] Bosnia-Herzegovina Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic was satisfied with the talks which, he said, had a practical political significance. He went on:

[Begin Silajdzic recording] Today we discussed international relations as a whole. If I were to single out a specific problem I think it will be the problem of refugees which, at least in my opinion, is the most serious problem. Unfortunately, this problem will be with us for years. Today we tried, at least in principle, to resolve the issue of cooperation in this field. The problem of refugees is also linked with international relations—those between the Republic of Croatia and the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and between each of the two with other countries.

Finally, let me just say that I hope we will succeed in resolving at least the fundamental issues today and tomorrow....

[Vinkovic] When asked when one can expect the agreement to be signed, Croatian Prime Minister Nikica Valentic said it was not the signatures but concrete results that counted, but he hoped the signatures will come soon.

[Announcer] Let us just add that Prime Minister Silajdzic was also received by Zagreb Archbishop Cardinal Franjo Kuharic in his residence in Zagreb. According to the IKA agency they discussed the status of Catholics in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the implementation of the Washington Agreement, and prospects for the safe return of refugees to their homes.

Refugee Blockade Keeps UN From Attending Talks

LD1407172794 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1652 GMT 14 Jul 94

["Pool" item]

[Text] Okucani, July 14 (TANJUG)—Due to a Croatian blockade of United Nations facilities, U.N. Protection

Force (UNPROFOR) officials on Thursday again failed to come to a regular meeting with the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] civilian, police and military officials.

The meeting, planned to take place in Okucani in Western Slavonija, was the second that had to be cancelled because of the blockade staged by Croatian refugees. President of the Western Slavonija region Dusko Vitez has strongly protested against UNPROFOR'S inability to oppose the blockade, which he said was backed by the Croatian authorities. The blockade, which began on July 1, stopped traffic at 15 of the 19 crossings between Croatia and the U.N.-protected Serb Krajina. UNPROFOR has accused Croatian authorities and police of participating in the blockade. Croatian refugees demand from UNPROFOR To help Zagreb impose its rule in Krajina. Croatia has so far launched three military offensives in an attempt to impose its rule on Serb Krajina. Under the U.N. peace plan, which in 1992 placed Krajina under its protection, Croatia has no jurisdiction over that territory.

The local Serbs proclaimed the republic of Serb Krajina in 1991 in their ancestral lands within Croatia's Communist-era arbitrary borders in response to Croatia's violent secession from former Yugoslavia and removal of the Serb national rights from the Croatian Constitution.

Government on Refugees

LD1407162694 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 14 Jul 94

[Excerpts] [Announcer] At its session today the Croatian Government emphasized that the return of refugees was the government's strategic objective; the search operation will go on until the last person missing or abducted during the aggression against Croatia has been found. [passage omitted]

[Unidentified correspondent] Representatives of the Association of Refugees attending the session underlined that they were demonstrating their dissatisfaction with UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] through protests, and dismissed claims about any forms of manipulation.

The Croatian Government, Prime Minister Valentic said, understands the refugees' plight but disassociates itself from the protests, and appeals to the refugees not go to extremes in defense of their rights; it is in Croatia's interest to permit UNPROFOR—that has not fulfilled its obligations so far—to perform its duties.

This will be the cornerstone of our diplomatic drive this summer, Mate Granic said and added that, following the debate on UNPROFOR on Saturday [16 July], the Croatian parliament will await the Autumn session at which a final decision will be made on Croatia's position regarding UNPROFOR. [passage omitted]

RSK Border Patrol Attacked by Croatian Troops

LD1407190394 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1835 GMT 14 Jul 94

["Pool" item]

[Text] Knin, Serb Krajina, July 14 (TANJUG)—Croatian troops Wednesday crossed the line of separation and attacked a Serb Krajina border patrol, the Serb Krajina news agency ISKRA reported Thursday. ISKRA quoted a Serb Krajina Army command statement as saying that two Croatian soldiers were killed and two Serb Krajina soldiers were wounded in a shootout provoked by the Croats.

The attack was mounted inside the zone of separation in the area of Lake Peruca south of the Krajina capital of Knin. The Croatian troops opened small arms and anti-aircraft gun fire on the Serb soldiers, who responded from small arms. The Croatian raid on the zone on separation constitutes a violation of the Krajina-Croatia ceasefire agreement of last March, which established the zone from which the troops of the two sides are excluded, and which is patrolled only by the local police.

The republic of Serb Krajina was proclaimed in 1991 by the local Serbs in their ancestral lands in Croatia after Croatia's violent secession from the former Yugoslav Federation and the removal of the Serb rights from its Constitution. A subsequent eruption of fighting between the two sides resulted in placing the territory under United Nations protection in the Spring of 1992.

UN Denies Croatian Claims of Serb Attack

LD1407161994 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1343 GMT 14 Jul 94

[Text] Zagreb, 14 Jul (TANJUG)—The UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] today denied Croatian claims that the Serbs from the republic of Serb Krajina yesterday attempted to launch an infantry attack near the village of Limar in Sector South.

UNPROFOR spokesman Paul Risley today told the press in Zagreb that three armed Serb soldiers had got lost in a minefield in the buffer zone and asked soldiers of the Canadian battalion for help. As the Canadians were clearing their way through the minefield, fire was opened from the Croatian side. One Serb soldier was killed and another was wounded. They were evacuated from this place by a helicopter of the peace force, Risley said.

Yesterday and today, the Croatian media carried a Croatia Army report "that the enemy launched a surprise attack by infiltrating a commando group into the Dinara area" and that "the attack was repelled while two members of the enemy paramilitary were killed in the shoot-out."

SNS Leaders Present New Peace Proposal

AU1407140694 Zagreb HINA in English 1324 GMT 14 Jul 94

[Unattributed report: "SNS Presents New Peace Proposal"]

[Text] Zagreb, 14 Jul—Leaders of the Serbian National Party (SNS) presented at today's press conference a new peace proposal on the settlement of the conflict and political crisis in former Yugoslavia, particularly in Croatia.

This proposal was made as a result of the rejection of the first peace proposal of the SNS "Peace Without Alternative," which had been presented in the end of last year, said deputy leader of the SNS Veselin Pejnovic.

Leader of the SNS Milan Djukic stressed that the new peace proposal was based on the resolution of the issue on Krajina through granting the Serb minority full political autonomy in the areas with predominant Serb population. "Serbs in Croatia will not accept the status of national minority, but the status of a nation with the right to self-determination without separation," said Djukic.

Veselin Pejnovic said that the term of occupation should be redefined because "those people who live somewhere 500 years cannot occupy that area, only paramilitary forces can do it."

Nation Status Requested

LD1407193894 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1749 GMT 14 Jul 94

[Text] Zagreb, July 14 (TANJUG)—Leaders of the only Serb party in the Croatian parliament, the Serbian People's Party, on Thursday requested that Serbs be granted autonomy and the status of a nation.

Before Croatia's violent secession from the former Yugoslav Federation in 1991, the Serbs had the status of a nation but after the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) came to power their rights were reduced to those of an ethnic minority.

The Serbs in response formed their own state—the republic of Serb Krajina—in their ethnic and historical territories within Croatian borders.

Speaking at a press conference in Zagreb, the Serbian People's Party leaders said Serbs in Croatia would never accept minority status.

The Serbs demand restoration of their status of a nation with the right to self-determination but without the right to secession, the party leaders said.

They urged autonomy for Serb regions in the former Yugoslav Republic of Croatia and said that the two sides could discuss federal or confederal ties, only to avert war.

In a document headlined "Reason or War," which was handed to the press, the party leaders said that according to information available to that party the situation was getting closer to war option, because Croatian politicians and authorities had no power or wisdom to seek a way out through compromising.

The republic of Serb Krajina was placed under United Nations protection in the Spring of 1992 but this has not prevented Croatia from attacking it three times in an effort to enforce its rule there.

The Zagreb regime has been grossly violating the human rights of Serbs in Croatia. In the period between 1991 and late 1993, 14,000 Serbs were killed there while 300,000 people were expelled, 8,000 evicted and 10,000 Serb homes destroyed.

President Franjo Tudjman in June pledged to evict another 6,000 Serbs.

Opposition Questions UNPROFOR Mandate

AU1407191894 Zagreb HINA in English 1803 GMT 14 Jul 94

[Unattributed report: "Croat Parliamentary Opposition on Mandate of UNPROFOR"]

[Text] Zagreb, 14 Jul—Opposition members of both Houses of the Croatian parliament on Thursday [14 July] held a debate on the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] mission in Croatia in the house of parliament. Members of the Croatian Social Liberal Party, Croatian Farmers Party, Croatian National Party, Croatian Independent Democrats, Croatian Social-Democratic Party, Istrian Democratic Alliance and several independent members adopted a joint statement on the UNPROFOR mandate in Croatia. A working group is to draft a resolution on the basis of the statement and the members' suggestions. Recalling that the parliament had not been consulted about the UNPROFOR mandate and that the documents that were signed had never been published or submitted to the parliament, the statement propounds that the parliament should set up a commission to ascertain all relevant facts about UNPROFOR's arrival and mission. The statement calls for investigating the responsibility of all those involved in the negotiations about the current UNPROFOR mandate, and particularly in suspending the Croatian constitutional and legal system in the occupied areas bypassing the parliament. Branding President Tudjman's policy toward Serbia as "not good for Croatia's national interest," the statement underlines that the acceptance of a peace plan for Bosnia-Herzegovina should be given on condition that Croatia's occupied areas are to be peacefully reintegrated into its legal and constitutional system.

HDZ Calls on Opposition To Return to Parliament

AU1407134594 Zagreb HINA in English 1115 GMT 14 Jul 94

[Unattributed report: "Croatia's HDZ Calls on Opposition Parties To Return to Parliament"]

[Text] Zagreb, 14 Jul—The secretary-general of the ruling Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) party, issued a statement on Thursday, informing the leaders of parliamentary opposition parties about the HDZ's views of opposition proposals concerning the May 18 agreement on the distribution of leading posts in Parliament.

The statement said the HDZ was willing to insist on the consistent implementation of the Agreement, but that it could not accept that the legality and legitimacy of parliamentary sessions and decisions were called into question, including the election of speakers of both parliamentary chambers.

The HDZ believes that, at this politically decisive moment, when the problems of occupied territories and establishment of a just peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina are being solved, it would be best that all deputies exercise their constitutional right and duty and participate in the work of Parliament.

Demirel Voices Willingness To Develop Relations

LD1507095594 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 15 Jul 94

[Excerpts] Turkish President Suleyman Demirel arrived in Split this morning. Vedrana Krstic-Ivanisevic reports:

[Krstic] Turkish President Suleyman Demirel, accompanied by Foreign Minister Hikmet Cetin, Dogan Gures, Turkish Army chief of general staff, other aides, and numerous Turkish journalists, arrived on a short visit to Split around 0900 on his way to Zenica, where he is to visit Turkish units serving with UN forces. [passage omitted]

In a brief statement before take-off, President Demirel said: We want peace and prosperity, cooperation and friendship. We always support justice and just peace and believe we will develop cooperation with Croatia.

[Demirel, in English fading into Serbo-Croatian] We always give support to peace and justice, fair peace. We are willing to develop our relations with Croatia, to further them.

We will sign an agreement on friendship and cooperation, to improve economic and cultural relations. I hope this will be in the interest of both states and also in the interest of all others. I will be the first foreign statesman to speak in the Croatian Parliament, Demirel said before his departure for Zenica.

[Krstic] He is to visit Zagreb in the afternoon, where he will meet and hold talks with Croatian President Franjo Tudjman. Presidents Tudjman, Izetbegovic, Demirel, and Zubak [president of the Bosnian federation] are to meet at Brioni on Sunday. After the talks yesterday between the Croatian and Bosnian prime ministers and government ministers, this visit is seen as one of the most important ones by foreign statesmen.

Two Croatian Soldiers Killed in Exclusion Zone

LD1407145594 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1349 GMT 14 Jul 94

[Text] Knin, 14 Jul (TANJUG)—An armed incident took place in the area of lake Peruca at 0930 yesterday [13 July], in which two members of the Croatian Army were killed after they had opened fire on a Serb border patrol, the information service of the main headquarters of the Serb army of Krajina disclosed in Knin today, ISKRA [Serb Krajina news agency] reports.

Two members of the Serb Krajina army—Dragan Vincic and Zoran Vukovic—were wounded in this incident in the exclusion zone.

The wounded Serb fighters were medically evacuated shortly after 1800 by an UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] helicopter to the Sveti Sava hospital in Knin.

According to the same source, the Croats opened fire from infantry weapons and an antiaircraft gun, while the Serb defenders responded with infantry weapons fire.

The Serb side is well aware that members of the Croatian Army are deployed within the exclusion zone (armed with "long barrels"), in the wider area of lake Peruca, some 10 km southeast of Vrlika, the announcement of the main headquarters of the Serb army of Krajina says.

April Munitions Depot Blast Called 'Accident'

LD1407194694 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 14 Jul 94

[Text] The parliament's home policy and national security committee today heard the findings of two commissions appointed to investigate the Sesvete explosion and the report of the investigating judge.

Part of an ammunition depot in the Zagreb suburb of Sesvete blew up on April 7, wounding several people and inflicting extensive material damage. Six depot workers were reported missing.

Head of the National Investigative Commission Hrvoje Sarinic said the commission established negligence in the management of the ammunition depot. Part of the depot was run by the Defense Ministry and another part by the Croatian army headquarters. There was no coordination between them, and Defense Ministry inspectors had not been performing their duty. Sarinic said the ammunition was stored with the fuses.

Reporting on the findings of the Defense Ministry Investigative Commission, Defense Minister Gojko Susak confirmed that the explosives had been stored ready for

use and in excessive quantities. He said the commission assumed that the explosion started in Depot No. 4, which was under Croatian army control. The six missing workers were also employed by the Croatian army.

Both Sarinic and Susak agreed that the explosion was probably an accident, but could not rule out sabotage. Reporting on the findings of the investigating judge, President of the Supreme Court Milan Vukovic said that it was 99 percent certain that an anti-tank mine in Depot No. 4 had been the first to blow up.

The parliamentary Committee is to consider all these reports once again before the Saturday sitting. Following a protracted debate on evictions from defense ministry (former Yugoslav army) apartments, the parliamentary commission pronounced that the evictions were legal and thus could not constitute a violation of human rights.

Crvenkovski: No Dialogue Until Embargo Lifted

AU1407144894 Skopje MIC in English 14 Jul 94

[Unattributed report: "No Dialogue Over Embargo"]

[Excerpt] After the talks in New York with Cyrus Vance and Matthew Nimetz, Macedonia's [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] Foreign Minister Stevo Crvenkovski told the Macedonian Radio that the continuation of the direct dialogue between Greece and Macedonia was conditioned with the lifting of the Greek embargo.

According to Crvenkovski, no progress was achieved in the negotiations, which would continue this fall. [passage omitted]

'Very Serious Parliamentary Crisis' Viewed

AU1307174194 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 13 Jul 94 p 4

[Commentary by Lilica Kitanovska: "A New Parliamentary Phase"]

[Text] Whether we want to admit it or not, we are facing a very serious parliamentary crisis. The reason this fact is not taken seriously is to be found in our predilection for being surprised when positive rather than negative processes are noted in a classic "stop and go" situation. Another vote of confidence in the government has been announced for tomorrow. How are we to understand this request signed by 25 VMRO-DPMNE [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Movement for Macedonian National Unity] MP's, considering the experience of the nearly completed mandate of the first multiparty Assembly?

The first thing that crosses our mind is tactics and buying time. That is, it seems that the idea is to spend as much time in discussions that give the illusion of a real engagement, whereas in essence they are of no importance at all. This conclusion is illogical and unacceptable to sound parliamentary democracy systems, but unfortunately it is completely acceptable and bitterly true for our situation. There are no grounds that can make us believe that this action proves MP's are constructive. Here are the reasons why:

If it had been a desire to forge ahead, this would not have been preceded by a capricious attempt to disturb the parliament session by making a government coalition quorum a precondition. If it had been a request in its real sense, meant to improve the current situation, it would not have come out now at this very unfavorable moment, which proves that the real desire is to maintain the status quo and not accomplish any changes. If the request had been made earlier, they could have cheated somebody because there was still time enough to reconstruct and consolidate ranks and thus perform the duties for which these people have been elected. If it had been made later, after the adoption of the election law, for instance, it would have been viewed as "enlightenment" over lost time and a moral need to make up for wasted time, for shortening the time of inactivity of this government and thus giving the opportunity to another who could implement the proposed policy. In that way the new government could have implemented the elections through new laws, and that would have certainly given great credit for a longer future period. However, nothing of this happened. Here we are, amazed with the parties' ability to present justifications for their inactivity and ability to learn the 100 lessons of the phrase "Double Morality, or How to Carry On With the Mandate in a Comfortable Way."

No one should be exempt from this qualification. The contribution to the gridlock was effected by all 120 of them, although some contributed more, others less, to it. They all lack a feeling of responsibility to those who voted for them. However, the twisted criteria that create the prototype of a pseudo value instead of real values are seen as qualities with us. The PDP [Party for Democratic Prosperity] is striking in this context with its double standards for evaluating interests priorities. Party interests always come first. From great scandals and affairs up to small personnel reshuffles—everything is looked at through rose-colored glasses. The illusion that these glasses allow some general interests through is created by compromises, giving assistance to one's coalition partners at moments like this. They say they will not let this government fall. They say they will not only attend the scheduled session but will also deliver a confidence vote. We can understand that. The seats of the five ministers and deputies must not be lost. Who knows whether the next cards dealt will be as good as these.

Nevertheless, the behavior of the largest opposition party is without precedent. VMRO-DPMNE understands its role as the conscience of the system as chasing mistakes night and day, and commenting on them without offering any other solutions. In principle, they have the right to do that. The opposition is there to obstruct authority. However, not by pushing it into undefined situations (such as the present one), but by countering the activities of the government with its own stances and alternative solutions to be approved by the public, thus becoming a position that can replace that of the government at any time.

None of this happened, once again. We expected seriousness instead of dilletantism in the parliament. Perhaps the most probable outcome of the farce we are witnessing now will be another postponement of the session. Not this one, please. The simple reason is to settle accounts. When the ruling coalition asked for a session, the opposition asked for a quorum. Now the opposition is asking for a session and it is logical that the coalition will ask for 61 members of parliament to attend the session. Finally, confidence in the government will be discussed. There will be neither confidence nor no-confidence if the session is not held. And should there be a session, there will be endless accusations that will fit perfectly into preelection campaigning, free of charge, and everything

will end with a three months' silence on this issue. If this session ends at all, it will be much more than simply that. For them, and for all of us.

Commentary Views 'Irregularities' in Census

AU1407160994 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 14 Jul 94 p 2

[Commentary by Z. Darkovska: "Census's Setbacks"]

[Text] At the end of the 5 July deadline for the census, the State Census Commission assessed that it had been successfully completed in most communes in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM]. Now, at the end of the extra term of the census (the word "continuation" is avoided), which was supposed to augment the success of the whole action and present more people registered, the same commission informs about irregularities in the implementation. This is neither strange nor unexpected. If we recall how this irregular census started in Macedonia, what preceded it, and all the efforts that were involved for its obstruction, then we would really have been surprised if the authorities had not registered any violations of the law. In spite of these irregularities the Census '94 cannot be defined as futile.

Not only the European experts, but also most of the Macedonian public was taken by surprise when the State Census Commission stated that the expert group, which came here to observe the implementation of this action, had gone beyond its authorization. When, where, and why? There are no data about that, at least not for now, and probably the facts will be published after the gathered documents have been elaborated. To be frank, all accusations will need "substantial" arguments. If we know the reason why some parties wanted to obstruct the census, why some individuals tried to be registered twice, and why some census officers did not perform properly the duty they had accepted voluntarily, it is still not clear what could be the interest of the experts to set back the census. Their mission was to come here and help the organization of the census, to establish norms and standards of a census that would present Macedonia to the international community in a "European" light, and to mediate in some disputes between the Albanian parties and the state leadership, with the aim of encompassing all citizens within the census. Their mission was to support the full completion of the action, even to prolong the deadline, if necessary, because this action is of the utmost importance and interest for the state. Any other outcome would be entirely unfit, because if the real numbers are not recorded, it could create possibilities for serious conflicts and speculations. And that is certainly not in the interest of the state.

Nevertheless, this is exactly the point where some political parties see their interest. The State Census Commission pointed out the harmful activities of the PDP [Party for Democratic Prosperity], the NDP [People's Democratic Party], and the Democratic Alliance of Turks. In this context the appeals for a boycott of the census emerged, and the only motive for that is the fear of their objective number. With the last day of the extended deadline, with the latest data given by statisticians, 1,738,000 people have been registered. Therefore, at this moment, when we still do not have the final figures, all we know is that around half of the citizens of Macedonia are missing. Their number will probably be decreased after the summing up of the data and even after the possible repetition of the census in communes where irregularities have been spotted. However, there remains the fact that the census was intentionally avoided by members of particular nationalities in the country. It is an absurd situation, especially when we know that there are minorities who are struggling throughout the world to be registered in the country in which they live, where their rights are usually obstructed because of various reasons. The things are upside down in our country. The state is doing its best to register the nationalities; for this it is to a certain extent exposed to severe criticisms by the Macedonian population. Meanwhile the nationalities, on the other hand, are doing their best to remain outside the evidence. The motives, which are evidently the reason for some nationalities' behavior, contributed to a strong politicization of this statistical endeavor. Therefore, many would like (and they are involving their greatest efforts for that) to present the implemented census as unsuccessful and thus instigate new political implications. On its side, the state needs real figures, which can be only provided by a successful census. All this is for the sake of the forthcoming elections, but also for the sake of future planning and for other reasons.

'Doubling' Unemployment Rate Predicted

AU1407162094 Skopje VECER in Macedonian 14 Jul 94 p 3

[Report by S.M. Vankova: "The Stampede Is Yet to Come"]

[Text] According to a table published in the monthly TRANSITION, issued by the World Bank, Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] heads the list of countries in transition with the highest level of unemployment. The present government is not very worried about this, because the sword Damocles of unemployment was almost equally sharp in the former socialist system, yet it "cut off" nobody's head.

A dependable recipe for preventing a stampede of the unemployed is to provide a certain level of welfare protection and other rights for those unemployed (there is one unemployed person for every three employed), as well as by sending employees on compulsory vacation and thus solve the problem of redundancy. In other words, the recipe is to prolong transformation and privatization simply because it will result in a drastic growth of the already high level of unemployment.

A List of Desperate People

In spite of the efforts to shut off all the valves that could increase the gap between employment opportunities and the increase in the unemployed, the number of those employed is decreasing, while the number of those on the list of the desperate in employment offices throughout the country is increasing. Compared with last year, the number of the unemployed has increased by 10,000 in the first half of this year to a total of 184,837. As an illustration: In June alone there were 3,608 new applicants at employment offices, while only 1,065 of those previously registered found jobs. Over 60 percent of those registered have been waiting from three to five years, some even longer.

A spark of hope in this long-lasting chaos in this sensitive sphere, according to Director of the Republican Employment Office Nikolina Cvetkovska, is that since the new law on labor came into force there has been a better situation related to employment in private companies. The number of private businessmen regularly registering employees is rising, and thus illegal employment is being eliminated. To a certain extent it shows a possibility for reducing the problem of unemployment, but hopes may be dashed by the expected pressure from those who will become jobless after the privatization and transformation of state companies this autumn. Cvetkovska claims that special research is being prepared on them in order to know their exact number and for them to be able to benefit through their rights to social funds.

Enviable Levels of Rights

There is a much better situation in terms of the rights of the unemployed guaranteed by law. Compared with last year, it is really at an enviable level, as a result of the increased percentage given from the budget for employment purposes, from 0.8 to 1.5 percent, which is regularly paid. We are happy to note that private businessmen have become more disciplined in this sphere, and that they participate with 23 percent.

"The regular revenue has relieved us and, unlike the situation of last year, we are now capable of fulfilling our obligations toward the unemployed more regularly," Cvetkovska said. "In 18 communes in the country people have received social money for May, while those in the remaining communes will receive the same amount by the end of next week. The sum given to 10,327 workers facing redundancy is 2,544 denars. We are particularly happy because we have finally solved the problem of health protection for the unemployed, something we were very much criticized for last year. Since January around 52,000 unemployed have been regularly receiving green cards [health protection certificates] on a monthly basis, and, to judge from the frequent strikes in the state, this is not the case with a great number of those employed."

The people working in the Republican Employment Office can be really satisfied with what has been accomplished, because according to some indications by IMF and World Bank experts, the former socialist countries can envy us for the perfectly organized network for taking care of the unemployed. However, there still remains the question whether it will be equally praised if the black prognosis of the number of jobless people doubling after transformations have been completed comes true.

VMRO-DPMNE, SDB, Press 'Scandal' Viewed

94BA0332A Skopje VECER in Macedonian
11-12 Jun 94 pp 4-5

[Article by Branko Geroski: "They Are All Threatened by 'Vijuga'"]

[Text] *Case: "Lav" [Lion]. OA [operational action] "Raskol" [Schism]. Source: "VECER." The "Raskol" OA is being brought to a conclusion. "Coordinator" and "Terminator" have been expelled by "Lav." The position of "Gude" [Piglet] has been slightly weakened, but is still stable. After the break, "Lav" claims that he will no longer respond to the attacks of collaborators "Coordinator" and "Terminator." The side effects are favorable. Collaborator "Vijuga" [Curve] claims that it is not "Vijuga." The attack against "Pirej" [Puree] was carried out effectively. "Pirej" is responding fiercely. Source "Polog" [Nest] has been eliminated. New collaborators are needed, urgently.*

Readers who have been following the events in VMRO-DPMNE [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Movement of Macedonian National Unity], the mutual accusations of the party's leadership and faction leaders and the reactions of the people indirectly involved in the scandal, will probably figure out these code names easily. Some of them have been created by our editorial office. We think that we have an author's right to this, since the press (with VECER most alluded to) was accused of participating in the so-called "Raskol" OA, and we were even attributed with sponsoring that code name (admittedly, we will probably dispute that sponsorship with deputy Kiril Kovacevski or with the author of the article that was presented at yesterday's VMRO-DPMNE news conference as an "original document" on the involvement of the State Security Service [SDB] in the scandal).

"Sinister Scenario"

Before we embark upon an analysis of the consequences to date of this scandal, we owe our readers a few explanations. The thesis about the press's involvement in the so-called "Raskol" OA was first broadcast by Vladimir Golubovski (VMRO-DP [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party), attributing that nonsense to DP [Democratic Party] leader Petar Gosev. Then Gosev held a news conference at which he gave an answer in his own way, but he also did not neglect to mention the "abuses" by certain reporters in the same context, but also by some "satellite" parties,

obviously returning the ball back to Golubovski. Golubovski's appearance, however, was caused by the statement by VMRO-DPMNE leader Ljupco Georgievski to VECER, in which Golubovski was accused of being an informer for UDBA [secret police] and KOS [Yugoslav military counterintelligence] under the code name "Vijuga." If the thesis is then consistently followed to its conclusion, it will turn out that the creators of the "sinister scenario" expected that Georgievski would say precisely what he did say, moreover precisely through VECER (by the way, Georgievski only gave our newspaper an interview), which suggests the assumption that Georgievski is also involved in the "scenario."

Naturally the reader, if he wishes, can believe these stories. The stories, after all, do not make any sense if no one believes them. That is also easier. Specifically, the actors in this two-week-old drama—both the party leadership and factional leaders Tomislav Stefkovski and Stoile Stojkov—now need some sort of "scenario," which has to be skillfully planned enough to eliminate the impression of the clumsiness and ill-consideration of their statements to the press. By the way, the main actors "appeared in" our newspaper with statements and interviews several times (Zmejkovski at least twice, Sokolov once, the faction leaders at least twice...). There is one more thing: All of these interviews were "captured" by hand, and not one was taped; we thus indirectly let our interlocutors know that they could speak up the next day and publicly deny that they had talked with our reporter at all. To make things even stranger, during all these days there has been neither a protest nor a denial from anyone!

Bitter Culmination

Even the recording allegedly obtained by the SDB, the authenticity of which is confirmed by one of the two telephone interlocutors (Dosta Dimovska), is evidence that even at the beginning of April all the attempts to calm down the conflict between the faction leaders and Zmejkovski had failed. Both sides had obviously decided to fight, and they only used the press as an arena for their final battle. Things became complicated when new names (neither guilty nor innocent) were involved in the dispute—Slobodan Bogoevski (as Zmejkovski's alleged informer?!), Vladimir Golubovski, later Petar Gosev, and several other persons of marginal significance. Up until then, the discussion between the party's leadership and the faction leaders could have been conducted in accordance with those standard questions: Was the leadership governing in a totalitarian manner or not, were the purges in the VMRO-DPMNE municipal committees legal or not, and so forth. The shift in the focus of the dispute to the relationship between the party and the SDB (envisioned as a strategic strike, of course, since the whole thing started with leader Georgievski) is what definitely upset people.

Thus the scandal, from the initial fairly naive explosion, passed into a phase of bitter culmination. The public was able to hear a series of accusations, from which it could be concluded that the entire VMRO-DPMNE party leadership (with the exception of Georgievski and Dimovska) had some sort of relationship with the SDB. Boris Zmejkovski, according to some claims, was recruited by the SDB even before he was 15, and there is allegedly a dossier on him under the code name "Gude" (the insulting nature of the code name suggests the assumption that it is also the fruit of someone's stormy imagination). Aleksandar Dinevski, as Stojkov would confirm, is only an "alleged" deserter from the SDB to the ranks of VMRO-DPMNE. Ivan Sokolov, a party personnel officer, has been identified in the "Duvlo" [Den] scandal, and Stojkov claims that the SDB is blackmailing him because of his alleged ties with the Bulgarian intelligence service. Tomislav Stefkovski is allegedly an employee under the code name "Coordinator," and Stoile Stojkov is an SDB collaborator and allegedly a personal friend of Slobodan Bogoevski (and furthermore, chairman of the parliamentary commission for overseeing the SDB's work). Finally, Vladimir Golubovski, in his golden days in VMRO-DPMNE (when, as he was to state himself, Zmejkovski was his driver, and Georgievski was lucky if he bought him a pastry), was allegedly a KOS collaborator, and his dossier was kept under the code name "Vijuga."

All of these statements have been denied, but one cannot avoid the fact that all of these people had some sort of relationship with the SDB. Let us go in the reverse order now. Golubovski is admitting that a dossier was kept on him (admittedly, not under the code name "Vijuga"), and will also say that on one occasion he contacted the Service in order to get a pistol (since when is a pistol permit requested from the SDB?). Stojkov himself is boasting that he has had a look at many confidential SDB documents, admittedly as chairman of the parliamentary commission, and in connection with the well-known scandals. Stefkovski, like it or not, is "Coordinator." Sokolov does not deny that he has been identified in the "Duvlo" scandal. Dinevski is a former SDB employee (some people say he is a current one as well!) and one of the "eight." Finally, Zmejkovski is an individual who has had frequent and stormy contacts with the police, and that is generally known.

"Motley" Company

In short, regardless of whether one can accept the thesis of the faction leaders that the party is actually controlled by the Zmejkovski-Dinevski-Sokolov trio (the fourth person is allegedly Aleksandar Florovski), one cannot avoid the impression that leader Georgievski and vice president Dimovska really are in strange, or, as someone has already called it, "motley" company. Even if one does not take for granted the ideas that the troika allegedly blackmailed the leader (who was sick, and so forth), the very structure of this party's leadership leaves room for misunderstandings. What Zmejkovski has in his possession on the more important members of this party can be called "abundant party" documentation, but also "equivalent police" documentation. The elimination of Golubovski in this context is extremely typical,

and so far his sincere testimony about the way in which he was deceived before the 56th session of parliament has not been denied by anyone. All of that is evidence that the party's leadership is not immune from police methods in getting rid of disobedient people, regardless of whether they are working for the SDB, for some other service, or even someone else.

And now a word or two about the attitude toward the SDB. You read that correctly: The key dilemma that is being posed in this sphere is not the SDB's attitude toward the parties, but rather the reverse—the parties' attitude toward the SDB. Let us start with the hypothesis that several years ago the head of this service, Bogoevski, really did deliver to Zmejkovski confidential and compromising information about the SDB (allegedly as a party "sympathizer" who then unexpectedly (?) changed camps). Let us also assume that it is true that other employees in this service are also working for VMRO-DPMNE. And finally, let us even agree that the source of all these "scandalous" documents really is the SDB. The following dilemma arises: What is the useful value and quality of all those "discoveries," through which VMRO-DPMNE is sending the SDB the message that it "knows a lot"?

Intolerably Easy

In order for us to answer this question, we will need to rewind the film. The "Duvlo," Bluebird, and Bulgarian flyers scandals exploded and were left without a final epilogue. It is worth asking: Why did the same suppliers (sincere democrats, and so forth) not deliver the same documents to VMRO-DPMNE during the time of the former interior minister, the now late Jordan Mijalkov? You may remember that at that time there were several ministers in the government who had "national orientations," and some were openly close to VMRO-DPMNE. At that time the minister of justice was a declared member of VMRO. It is logical to assume that making the scandals public during that period would have had major political consequences, perhaps consequences for the leadership team in the Service, and probably an epilogue in court (Naumov certainly would not have sat idly by).

But the sincere "sympathizers" in the SDB waited for that government to fall, in order for the "communists" to come to power, and only then delivered the compromising materials to VMRO-DPMNE. Furthermore, the suppliers then "forgot" to inform the party's leadership that Stefkovski and Stojkov were SDB collaborators, and it was precisely the latter who was called upon to investigate the scandals as head of the parliamentary commission, to go see Bogoevski at the Interior Ministry for juice, to flip through some dossiers, etc. Extremely symptomatic oversights, aren't they?

Let us not have any confusion: In the context of the "Duvlo" scandal, the people from the Interior Ministry publicly stated that some party figures were being covered by the Service, admittedly because of contacts with people from foreign intelligence services. Although Bogoevski stated that the "document" shown by VMRO-DPMNE was a forgery, probably the same observation uttered in the context of "Duvlo" also applies now. We can even agree hypothetically with the assertion that the SDB is plotting against the opposition parties, but that still will not explain the dilemma of how it is possible that it is doing it so intolerably easily. How is it possible for so many people to be blackmailed? How is it possible for entire party teams to become involved in naive games with the SDB? What are the members and sympathizers of the parties to think when those parties' leaders have any sort of contacts with people from this service? And finally there is what we heard as a commentary from an ordinary person on the street, in a bus: OK, damn it, who is pimping and spying on whom in this country?

That pathological attitude of politicians toward this state structure is what is most disturbing. Obviously they are all threatened by "Vijuga...."

Federal

Lilic Says Peace 'Only Reasonable Decision'

AU1407185194 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 14 Jul 94

[Address by FRY President Zoran Lilic to graduates of the 37th class of the Yugoslav Army National Defense Academy in Djurdjevi Stupi on 14 Jul—recorded]

[Excerpt] [Lilic] [Passage omitted] When carrying out the responsibilities of commanding officer, we expect you to exhibit the ability for timely detection, correct reasoning, [word indistinct], quick, and courageous decisionmaking, and never to forget that today—as in the past—the interest of our people was never war against everyone and the whole world, despite what certain international media—and unfortunately, some domestic media—are trying to imply. On the contrary, our objective and only true interest is cooperation with everyone, with all the countries in the world, and coexistence with those who wish to live in peace regardless of their national or religious membership. The only thing that we expect is that the Constitution and laws of this country are observed. We offer all citizens full and equal guarantee of all rights according to the highest international standards.

You are the ones who have to be the guarantors of peace and guarantors of a democratic, free, and economically reborn Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, while those to whom history has given the role of deciding on war and peace in former Yugoslavia must—in the interest of all their people—make the only reasonable decision, and that is peace, peace that will bring progress and development to all of us.

Three-Fourths of State Budget Alloted to Army

AU1407180094 Novi Sad DNEVNIK in Serbo-Croatian 14 Jul 94 p 5

[Report by Milan Bozokin: "(In)sufficient for Survival"]

[Text] Everywhere in the world—after the police—the largest amount of the state budget is allocated to the army. Yugoslavia is no exception to this rule, since this year 75.46 percent of the budget will be set aside for the financing of the army. In money terms, that is 1,264,000,000 new dinars, that is, 7.43 percent of the gross national product. This is less than the army has asked for, and it is enough to cover only 57 percent of its needs planned for this year.

After careful analysis and assessments, army officials have calculated that at least 2 billion new dinars were needed this year for the financing of the army's needs, which was accepted at the session of the Supreme Defense Council. However—as Major-General Borivoje Jovanic, director of the Department for the Financing and Budget of the FRY Defense Ministry, told VOJSKA—the measures of the economic policy for this year, from the reconstruction of the monetary system to all the other measures for the recovery of the country, have been such that the army could not get more than 1,264,000,000 new dinars.

Since the army has received less than it asked for, it has been forced to introduce strict control over the spending of every dinar. One has to stress here, however, that the army had ben taking good care of its expenses beforehand and that the military organization has always been an example of good housekeeping. This trend will now continue because of increased responsibilities that the army did not have before. This refers to the financing of the civil defense, which has been transferred to the Federal Government after the passing of the Law on Defense, but the resources needed have not been provided by the federal budget. The question is not only the material resources needed for the functioning of this sector, but also the financing of some 2,400 employees.

The Yugoslav Army will also this year have more expenses in financing its reservists because of the changed regime of sending men to the army at the age of 21 instead of 18. Even though the Chamber of the Republics of the FRY Assembly decided that the FRY Government should find the resources for this, this has still not been done, so the already modest "army" budget has to cover this as well.

Because of the many difficulties last year, the army only received 50 percent of the planned resources, so some 40 million dinars worth of debts were carried over to this year, which further burdens the budget. The debts from last year are mostly connected with armaments and military hardware, housing, reserves of war supplies, and other costs.

Difficulties were also created by the law on the financing of the FRY. According to this, the army can no longer use its own income, except for housing, and limitations have been imposed on its use of short-term credits from the Yugoslav National Bank to improve its current liquidity.

Officials in the Department for the Financing and Budget of the FRY Defense Ministry claim that there has been an irregular inflow of resources in the restrictive budget. Out of the allocated resources in the first three months only 50 percent were paid. By the decision of the FRY Government—and in accordance with the implementation of the economic policy this year—all the budget users, including the Yugoslav Army, could for the first half of the year utilize only 40 percent of the allocated plan. The Yugoslav Army was thus allocated in the first half of the year 505,600,000 new dinars. When the resources spent in the first quarter are deducted, 333,400,000 dinars were left over for the second quarter, which has just ended. These resources were insufficient to cover all the planned expenses so priority was given to training, food, medicine, housing, and salaries.

The officials in the FRY Defense Ministry, which is in charge of the financing of the military organization,

stress that it is essential that the Supreme Defense Council demands from the FRY Government that the decision be observed about the resources for the financing of the army up to 7.43 percent of the gross national product. The key to everything is in regulating the inflow of money. The point is, if the army were to get 1,264 million dinars, then every month 105.3 million dinars should be paid into the "military" budget. However, in practice the situation is quite different, and the army is not getting as much as it should. For example, in January 30.9 million was paid in, in February 63.9, and in March 91.8 million. The situation was similar in the second quarter.

One of the specific problems facing the Yugoslav Army is the demands from the suppliers for compensation for last year's losses, when the army was not liquid, and did not pay its bills on time. The military industry is now asking for 13.5 million dinars, and the other suppliers 4.5 million dinars. The Yugoslav Army is seeking assistance from the state since it cannot pay this from the resources it has been allocated.

Government Accuses Albania of Violating Rights

LD1407154494 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1245 GMT 14 Jul 94

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 14 Jul (TANJUG)—At its session today, the federal government discussed a report on the situation in the border area between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia [FYROM]. The session was chaired by Prime Minister Radoje Kontic. The government stated that the complexity and gravity of the situation raised the need for the Federal Ministry for Foreign Affairs and other state bodies to pay close attention to further development and inform the federal government on a regular basis about this issue and suggest adequate measures and activities.

As the Federal Information Ministry reports, the government also discussed a report on an incident between the Albanian authorities and members of our [Serbian-Montenegrin] minority that took place on 6 and 8 June this year. On that occasion the Albanian authorities attempted to forcibly requisition land from the members of the Serbian and Montenegrin minority from the village Stari Boric and Mladi Boric near Shkodra by demanding that they sign a statement whereby they give up their land and accept some other plots of lower quality a few kilometers away.

Since the villagers had not agreed to this, Albanian policemen started listing their household property as they intended to confiscate it as punishment for defying the court ruling. A clash ensued, during the course of which some 10 members of the Serbian and Montenegrin national minority were injured, including women and children. Medical staff at Shkodra's hospital refused to provide first aid treatment for the injured villagers.

At the session it was also stated that there are identical circumstances surrounding the people of the village of Omara and the villagers of Stara Stoja and Nova Stoja who face the threat of their land being forcibly confiscated. The members of our minority are determined to oppose at all costs the forcible requisition of land and mobile property because this threatens their basic existence.

The federal government stated that Albania's policy toward its national minorities, including its attitude to the Serbs, Montenegrins, and Gorans [Muslim Montenegrins], is in effect a strategy of denying their national, human, and civil rights.

On the international scene, Albania formally strives to develop democracy and human rights in accordance with CSCE and UN standards. On the other hand it encourages a separatist movement in Kosovo and Metohija, while at the international level it accuses the FRY of violating the human and national rights of ethnic Albanians.

There is an obvious gap between what Albania wants for "its own minority" and its conduct, in practice, toward members of minorities in its own territory.

In respect of the above information, the Yugoslav Government established concrete measures and tasks in order to prevent the confiscation of property belonging to members of our minorities in Albania and their expulsion.

A memorandum will be produced stating the exact position of our minorities in Albania, which will be submitted to the United Nations and all other relevant international organizations for the protection of human rights and the rights of national minorities.

The government charged the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs with the task of implementing the adopted measures in cooperation with the Ministry of Human Rights and the rights of minorities. [passage omitted]

Training of Pozarevac Tankermen Detailed

94BA0340C Belgrade VOJSKA in Serbo-Croatian 5 May 94 p 18

[Article by R. Popovic: "A Step Ahead of the Regulations"]

[Text] Theory, however refined, is always just words on paper without practice. In many respects, the war verified our prewar military theory. Wherever it was not confirmed in practice, the rules, the various principles for combat use of units or their formations, are being changed.

In the unit of Lieutenant Colonel Mile Vracar, the famous Pozarevac Mechanized Armored Brigade, the theoretical principles governing use have been checked and confirmed in practice from the first conflicts in

Slovenia, through combat operations in eastern Slavonia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, to protection of the national border of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia on the Drina, after the former JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] withdrew from the seceded republics.

The experience gained in the first days of war was immediately applied in subsequent actions, and thus practice, military practice in the field, has been a step ahead of the new rules and regulations, protecting the lives of members of the unit, which has had one new success after the other in the war.

Two years after the last action, it is difficult in the armored battalion of Major Rodoljub Roncevic to spot traces of combat on the powerful M-84 tanks, which are now resting lazily in their shelters, cleaned up and lubricated, as though they had never been out on the training ground. According to that young officer and his deputy, a few years younger, Captain 1st Class Zoran Petrusevski, the equipment was long ago put in perfect condition, and what makes them different from other battalions that have not been in the war are the combat experiences which the officers are skillfully applying in training.

Tank crews are now unfailingly trained along with the crews of infantry combat vehicles [BVP], because in the war they never went on a single mission separately. They say that they found during combat operations that the firepower of the BVP is weak without the tank and that the tank is very vulnerable without their protection. That is why they went into every battle together, and they do not see why they should do their job according to separate plans, when in a real situation they must operate together.

The tactical curriculum on the tank exercise ground has also undergone considerable changes. The number of targets, the target situation, the position of ambushes, minefields, contaminated terrain, and the direction of the tank's movement during training are changed in every new round, so that the training of the crews is being evaluated in a very simple and effective way, and lapses in the training of gunners or tank drivers are being detected and corrected.

During combat operations in eastern Slavonia, the ustashi, they say, "bought" them new communications equipment. The communications equipment they had been issued had been eavesdropped on and jammed by the enemy during combat, so that they used war booty to equip their tanks with up-to-date communications equipment, which is smaller, more effective, and more secure. One such two-way radio was also installed in the ambulance, so that direct communication could quickly be established with it from any tank. During the war, the Pozarevac tankists found that vehicles visibly marked with the red cross often became the target of enemy fire, and so on the front line they always assigned to the ambulance a tank or personnel carrier, which gave the medical personnel and the entire strength of the battalion greater confidence.

During the war, the battalion also "received" a computer and printer from the enemy; this has reduced by more than half the time it takes to make a decision for an operation and to communicate it to subordinates. Now the computer is also being used to keep complete records on the conscripts of the unit and all the teaching documentation, so that battalion commands have far more time left for actual participation in the process of training the young soldiers.

The Pozarevac tankists mounted on the bridge-carrying tank protection against shaped charges resembling what the M-84 has, and many other things are different in Maj. Roncevic's unit; its members can rightly say that they have made a large contribution to the process of transforming the Army of Yugoslavia, demonstrating that many things can be done in this painstaking job even without a great deal of money.

War Readiness of Troops in Slavonia Viewed

94BA0340D Belgrade VOJSKA in Serbo-Croatian 5 May 94 p 18

[Article by R.P.: "Training Saves Your Life"]

[Text] Although no one has as yet made a precise analysis of all the constructive changes that have come about in the two-year process of transformation of the Army of Yugoslavia into an up-to-date, well-equipped, and well-trained armed force, the results so far are certainly most evident in its A units, which are considerably more professionalized, differently equipped, and differently manned, and their maneuverability and firepower have been greatly improved. Those others, which are referred to as R units because of the manner in which they are manned, have been less spoken and written about, although the process of transformation has perhaps brought the greatest changes in them.

The unit from Velika Mostanica, which is near Belgrade, under the command of Colonel Ranko Jovovic, although in the military structure it is an R unit, can rightly boast of many elements of its combat readiness. Most of that unit, all of 71 percent of its members, has war experience, and after the combat action in eastern Slavonia, professional officers were assigned to command all battalions in peacetime and wartime. The wartime experiences of a large portion of the conscripts also had an impact on their effort during training, which all of them now approach far more seriously, because they saw on the battlefield that good training and weapons in good condition have an effect on the success of the unit and also on their personal safety. An irresponsible attitude toward the unit is still being shown by those conscripts who evaded their responsibility in the unit when it was at war. The mild penalties, or usually absence of penalties, which society, that is, its judicial authorities, pronounces, according to Col. Jovovic, only give them

additional incentive for their extremely irresponsible behavior, which arouses the indignation of the conscientious soldiers and is a real sore spot in the system of mobilization, whose successful performance is quite crucial to the unit's combat readiness.

Serbia

Serbs Issue Appeal To Yeltsin, Berlusconi

LD1407205394 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2021 GMT 14 Jul 94

[Text] Belgrade, July 14 (TANJUG)—The international "Contact Group" has treated the Serbs with grave injustice in drawing up its plan for a territorial division of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Association of Bosnian Serbs in Serbia said in letters to Russian President Boris Yeltsin and Italian Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi Thursday.

The letter to Yeltsin said the association had been astonished to learn that the map of territorial delimitations between the Bosnian Serb Republic and the Moslem-Croat Federation granted mostly the latter's demands.

The Russian diplomats in the "Contact Group" have not withstood the pressure from the United States, which makes [word indistinct] about its intention to secure the Moslem-Croat interests, the letter said.

The Bosnian Serbs want peace and are prepared to accept an honourable agreement, the letter said and listed a number of injustices done to the Serbs by the "Contact Group".

Under the "Contact Group" plan, the Bosnian Serbs should cede to the Moslems and Croats 15 percent of land they own, including areas where Moslems and Croats have become the majority population only after an unpunished genocide of the Serbs in World War Two, the letter said.

The plan takes away from the Serbs roads, 13 towns, almost all fertile fields and river valleys, nearly all mining basins, most industrial facilities and many ancient Serb landmarks.

The letter to Berlusconi said that the plan was carrying on the crimes of genocide against the Serbs begun by the Croatian and Moslem troops in World War Two, which Italians had witnessed and had tried to protect the Serbs against extermination.

The Serbs must be given the right to their ancestral lands which, vacated by crimes of genocide, cannot now be given to another, certainly not to those who had perpetrated the crimes, the letter said.

If the plan is actually carried out, the Serbs will be forced to move to Yugoslavia and other countries, the association said.

Seselj: Serbs Should Not Accept Peace Plan

LD1407133194 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1229 GMT 14 Jul 94

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 14 Jul (TANJUG)—Vojislav Seselj, the chairman of the Serbian Radical Party [SRS], said today that the Bosnian Serb Republic should not accept the peace plan for Bosnia.

He believes that this is the most opportune moment to proclaim the unification of the Serb Republic and the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] into one state, which the radicals have been advocating for a long time. Seselj suggested that the new state's name could be the Republic of Western Serbia.

The SRS chairman added that he did not expect Belgrade to step up pressure on the Bosnian Serbs to accept the plan because, as he said: The pressure is constant and will not be stepped up because it has already reached the highest level.

Asked about war crimes, Seselj said that the radicals could not be accused of that, and noted that the SRS did not have its own units on the battlefield, but it only sent volunteers to join the regular military and police forces. According to him, the term chetnik—often applied to SRS volunteers—was accepted by all Serb fighters in the western Serbian provinces.

Seselj reiterated his readiness to appear in court in The Hague if he is accused of war crimes, although he does not recognize the court. [passage omitted]

Djindjic Sees 'No Reason' To Make Concessions

AU1407123794 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 14 Jul 94 p 2

[Report by R. Bisenic: "We Cannot Demand That They Have It Harder So That We Can Have It Better"]

[Text] Belgrade—The Democratic Party had initially proclaimed that the maps offered by the Contact Group were not satisfactory. However, judging by a later appearance by party President Zoran Djindjic on Jagodina Radio, it seems that this stance has been altered and that the party has proposed the adoption of the plan. Upon clarifying the actual position of the Democratic Party in an interview with Zoran Djindjic, we learned that the parties in Serbia are not authorized to put forward views on the matters that directly concern the Serbs in the Serbian Republic.

Djindjic considers the opinion of the Serbian president on the maps as "unnecessary thoughtlessness," bearing in mind that, over the last few months, the situation has matured sufficiently enough for him to pull out of the talks and reject even an informal mediatory role, which the West is imposing on him. "The West is imposing this on him not because they value and acknowledge him and want to hear his opinion," but to use him as a means of

pressure. He should realize this. After the London agreement, we proposed that Yugoslavia—that is, Serbia and Montenegro—pull out and state that they were not available for any negotiations and that they did not want to participant in the war. Because Milosevic and other offices did not do this, they have stepped across the Drina River with one foot, and it is this foot that the international community is now pulling.

The Democratic Party, according to Djindjic, stands behind the efforts of the people of the Serbian Republic to accomplish a fair arrangement, not to be treated as a defeated side in a conflict, in the sense that we can have it a little better if they should agree to something that would be much worse for them. We do not think they should have it harder just to alleviate our situation. If they conclude that the offer is unacceptable for them and if their "no" means prolonging the sanctions, then we will not tell them to say "yes" so that the sanctions against us will be lifted. We will tell them to say "yes" if these conditions are at least minimally acceptable. These are sensiti /e matters, and we do not want to show off at their expense.

Regarding the question on the pressures on the Serbian Republic, the ban of oil transport for the Serbian Republic through Serbia and the speculations on the possible changes at the head of the Serbian Republic, Djindjic replied that they belonged in the repertoire of the communist regimes. One cannot influence them with a long distance remote control from Belgrade, by giving them a little money and some or no oil, Djindjic says. The replacement of Radovan Karadzic would not bring about changes. He could be replaced just like Babic, but so what? He can tend his resignation tomorrow and say "I cannot accept this, let Koljevic take over," but Koljevic would not return to Pale alive if he had accepted something in Belgrade that the majority of the population opposed. Observing all this from a perspective of a normal state policy, it is scandalous that such things can happen, that Milosevic can be a sort of chief of all Serbs—for which he has never run and was never elected, not that such a position exists—and that he can represent something and replace Babic and Karadzic.

Behind this plan, Djindjic claims, stands the greatest international authority that has ever been activated. Not even the landing in Normandy was executed with such authority. This is a sort of international eighth session, where the telegrams of support are coming in daily in a regular fashion. I do not wish to panic, but this is a serious power. However, the international community has so far demonstrated very serious intentions, but nothing has materialized out of it. The Vance-Owen plan was like a big balloon. My personal opinion, and not that of the party, is that we have lagged so far behind in development these past three years that there is no reason to make strategic concessions when we did not make them two years ago.

Serbian Opposition Expected at Pale Session

AU1407123994 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 14 Jul 94 p 2

[Report by M. Vidakovic and M. Mikuljanac: "Maneuver As a Warning to the SPS"]

[Text] Belgrade—It appears that someone will finally listen to the Serbian opposition. The authorities in Serbia have not expressed the wish to do so in the past years, but the authorities in the Serbian Republic, from whom this was expected the least, judging by everything, have a wish and need for that.

Unofficial sources indicate that the representatives of all parliamentary opposition parties in Serbia (except the GSS) [Citizens's Alliance of Serbia] will be invited to attend the upcoming session of the Serbian Republic [in Bosnia-Herzegovina] Assembly in Pale, which will decide on the (un)acceptance of the maps offered for the delineation of the warring parties.

The invitations have not arrived yet, unless, as Milan Bozic (SPO) [Serbian Renewal Movement] said, "they have only now been posted." The Democratic Party of Serbia, whose president, Dragoljub Popovic, described this as an interesting idea, has not received an invitation yet either. "A mechanism for a pan-Serbian discussion on political issues should have been created earlier, but this has been prevented by the authorities here in agreement with the Serbian Republic leadership," Popovic said.

"I find the idea interesting. It is a pity that such a forum was not created earlier, because, in my view, it is already a bit late for this decision," Popovic said.

Tomislav Nikolic from the Serbian Radical Party, which has not received an invitation either, does not find the idea of being a guest at the assembly session particularly interesting. "All political parties could send their stands to their delegates openly. However, I am against the use of the deputies' presence to influence them, to blackmail and pressurize them.... We Radicals are on the fronts and are helping when we are asked to do so, but let them [the Bosnian Serbs] make their political decisions themselves, without pressure from outside," Nikolic says.

Zarko Korac, a deputy from Depos [Democratic Movement of Serbia] (Citizens Alliance of Serbia), is not surprised that his party is not on the list of the "welcomed guests" in Pale: "They are not inviting us because they know that our policy has been consistent and that the citizens of Serbia know what this policy is. It is obvious that the leadership of the SPS [Serbian Democratic Party] of Bosnia-Herzegovina wants to be in the company of like-minded people. I think this is poor manners. It would probably be more useful to them to, at least once in their lives, carefully listen to the arguments of those who criticize them. Those who obediently agree with you are not necessarily always your friends," Korac said.

An invitation has not arrived at the Democratic Party either. A Democratic Party deputy, Slobodan Gavrilovic, said that he "simply did not known anything about that."

Some political commentators believe that the invitations will not arrive at all, and that the story about invitations for Pale is a political maneuver by the Serbian Republic leadership to make it known to the Socialist Party of Serbia that the results of waging war cannot be abandoned and that potential allies in Serbia can also be found outside the ruling party.

At the same time, there are also rumors that Dobrica Cosic, former president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, will also attend the Serbian Republic Assembly session in Pale. However, this report has not been confirmed, nor has the report that Serbian Patriarch Pavle could also be in Pale on 18 July.

Government Notes Upswing in Industrial Output

LD1407194194 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1822 GMT 14 Jul 94

[Summary] Belgrade, 14 Jul (TANJUG)—At its session today the government of the Republic of Serbia noted that the republic's industrial output in June had registered an 8.2 percent increase over the month of May. The June increase in industrial production is also evident in comparison with the same period last year.

Kosovo

Rugova Reelected as Party Leader at Convention

LD1407211894 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1955 GMT 14 Jul 94

[Excerpt] Pristina, 14 Jul (TANJUG)—Ibrahim Rugova, chairman of the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo [DSK] was reelected this evening.

During the concluding part of the DSK electoral convention, which was held in Pristina, the delegates supported by acclamation a proposal that Rugova remain at the head of the largest political party of Kosovo Albanians.

Thanking the delegates for their confidence, Rugova stated that he would urge the implementation of the DSK program, which is the expression of the Albanians' will for "an independent and neutral Kosovo," calling at the same time for trust and unity among Albanians.

The DSK convention confirmed the continuity of the political orientation pursued by Rugova's party which is expressed in a "political declaration." This document, which was adopted without discussion, reiterates well-known advocacy for, as it says, "the Republic of Kosovo as an independent and sovereign state," as well as for the statehood of the Albanians in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and autonomy for the Albanians living in Presevo, Bujanovac, Medvedja [southern Serbia near Kosovo], and Montenegro.

The second top DSK gathering was held in the privately owned Show restaurant, and the delegates, as reporters noticed, spent more time relaxing in a pleasant pub atmosphere than taking part in the work of the convention. [passage omitted]

Rugova Urges Independence

LD1407150894 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1327 GMT 14 Jul 94

[Text] Pristina, 14 Jul (TANJUG)—The electoral assembly of the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo [DSK] is being held in Pristina today. Ibrahim Rugova, the leader of this largest Albanian political party in Serbia and Yugoslavia, reiterated the party's previous political orientation. In his report, Rugova repeated that the DSK would adhere to its position on Kosovo as independent and neutral and open toward both Serbia and Albania with all guarantees for the Serbs in Kosovo and for Serb interests. He requested a civilian international protectorate of unlimited duration over Kosovo in order to, as he said, organize life and prepare talks on the future of Kosovo with the Serbian side.

We favor dialogue and negotiations with the Serbian side, with the participation of international factors. We see dialogue and talks as the ways of solving the problem of Kosovo, Rugova said and called on the international community to help the Albanians achieve freedom and independence. Speaking in detail about the party's work and its contribution to promoting the problem of Kosovo and Albanians in general, the Albanian leader described the situation in the southern Serbian province in familiar terms as dangerous and difficult, ridden with oppression and constant violence. But he said that due to the policy of active peaceful resistance, a conflict that would have been disastrous for the region had been avoided.

That Rugova and his party have not changed their policy is also confirmed by the political declaration to be issued from the meeting. The declaration states that the DSK will advocate the Republic of Kosovo an independent and sovereign state, as well as guarantees of the status of a state-building nation for the Albanians in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia [FYROM], and autonomy and equal national rights for the Albanians in Presevo, Bujanovac, Medvedja, and in Montenegro.

Rugova said he was optimistic about the ideas he fought for and ended his report by quoting U.S. President Clinton's words spoken in Berlin recently that he would advocate the independence and democracy for all nations in Europe. In addition to Clinton, he especially thanked Al Gore and Pope John Paul II for having received him.

The DSK electoral assembly, held in the Show, a private restaurant, began with a two-hour delay and with the Albanian national anthem being played as Rugova arrived. The names of new leaders are expected to be announced in the afternoon.

Rugova Addresses Assembly

AU1507071994 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 14 Jul 94

[Text] The second electoral assembly of the Kosova Democratic Alliance [LDK] opened proceedings in Prishtina today. The assembly opened with the national anthem, while 208 delegates then kept one minute of silence to honor the victims of the Serbian terror in the period between the two assemblies.

LDK Chairman Dr. Ibrahim Rugova made the opening speech. For more details, let us follow our correspondent, Leke Musolli:

[Musolli] Since its creation, the LDK has become the main political force in Kosova, Chairman Rugova stressed, adding that in the period between the two assemblies, the LDK consolidated and profiled itself as a large political party, always maintaining characteristics of a movement for freedom and independence in its global orientation.

Chairman Rugova then spoke about the contribution of this party and that of other political Kosovar parties in approving the 2 July declaration, the Constitution of the Republic of Kosova, as well as in organizing the referendum and holding parliamentary and presidential elections in Kosova.

The LDK committed itself to systematically affirm and internationalize the question of Kosova and the Albanian issue in general, keeping regular contacts with all parties in European countries, the governments and ministries of those countries and the United States, as well as with various humanitarian and political associations. Rugova particularly thanked Pope John Paul II, President Clinton, Vice President Al Gore, and many U.S. and European institutions that have helped and are presently helping Kosova.

Regarding the internationalization of the Kosova issue, Mr. Rugova ascertained that, at present, we have a global Albanian policy and that, in this direction, Albania—open, with a democratic order, and present in international institutions—has been playing an increasingly important role in presenting and supporting the Kosova issue. Chairman Rugova stressed that for this work, special merit is to be bestowed on President of the Republic of Albania Sali Berisha, the Albanian Government, and Albanian political parties.

Chairman Rugova devoted a good part of his speech to the present situation in Kosova, which he characterized as grave and dangerous, a situation, as he stated, laden with permanent violence. However, thanks to the wisdom and great sacrifices of the citizens, the LDK and other political parties, as well as the state institutions in Kosova, have managed to avoid conflict and confrontation, which would have been catastrophic for Kosova and the region.

That is why even this time, Chairman Rugova said, we call on the international community to undertake preventive steps in Kosova by installing an international civil temporary protectorate.

In closing his speech, Rugova cited an idea of President Clinton who, two days ago in the united Berlin, called for a Europe in which all nations would be independent and democratic, thus clearly expressing himself in favor of the fall of the Albanian Berlin Wall.

Political Declaration Presented

AU1507080894 Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT Nr. 399 in English 14 Jul 94

[Unattributed report: "Draft Political Declaration of the LDK Convention"]

[Text] The 208 delegates participating in the proceedings of the LDK convention were presented with the following political declaration due to be adopted:

1. Kosova has its own ethnic and territorial identity, and a long political and juridical subjectivity. This identity cannot be extinguished by the act of a violent suspension of Kosova as a federal unit of former Yugoslavia.

The political will for an independent Kosova was clearly expressed in the Constitutional Declaration of 2 July 1990, in the Constitution of 7 September 1990, in the referendum of September 1991, in which the Albanian people and other peoples of Kosova declared themselves almost in a 100 percent margin for the Republic of Kosova a sovereign and independent state in the parliamentary and presidential election in Many 1992, and [words indistinct].

2. The Albanians and the others in Kosova, as well as LDK and other parties, by opposing bloodshed, which would deepen the crisis, and further deteriorate relations, but rather the peaceful way as a means for the solution of the question of Kosova. This peaceful way assured the LDK and Albanian political movement a democratic legitimacy, international solidarity, and support.

3. The Albanian question has remained unsolved in the Balkans, with many potential risks. Following the dissolution of Yugoslavia, Albanians are faced with the danger of new divisions, which deny the right of the Albanian nation to be united.

Today, Kosova, and the status of the Albanians in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], represent the core of the unsolved Albanian question, and any kind of imposition of solutions contrary to the will of the Albanian people would be a source and factor of new greater dangers.

On the basis of the declared political will of the people of Kosova, on the basis of universal rights of peoples for self- determination, aware that an independent Kosova will be a factor of peace, stability, and cooperation in the

region and Europe, and on the basis of the commitment of Albanian political parties in former Yugoslavia,

The Democratic League of Kosova stands:

A. For the Republic of Kosova, and independent and sovereign state, according to the will of the people of Kosova expressed in the referendum of 1991;

B. For Kosova as a democratic state of all its citizens and peoples, organized in accordance to modern democratic values, in which not ethnic community will be treated as a minority, or be restricted or discriminated against on these basis, and for and open Kosova towards its neighbors;

C. For political unity of all Albanian and others on the basis of independence and free democratic development;

D. For a peaceful way of the solution of the prepared dialogue with an intermediation of international institutions, as its witnesses and guarantors;

E. For an immediate end to violence, discrimination, and apartheid, for the demilitarization of Kosova and international guarantees to it;

F. For an internationalization of the question of Kosova, for intensive contacts with the world in ensuring international understanding and support for the question of Kosova and Albanian demands;

G. For establishing institutions of Kosova, for the support, enlargement, and coordination of existing and new executive bodies of the Republic of Kosova;

H. For a close cooperation of all Albanian political parties and subjects, for an all-Albanian normal, intensive, and qualitative communication, and for cooperation with Albania, it parties and institutions, for the functioning of the Albanian space in all its entirety in the Balkans;

I. For guaranteeing the status of a state-forming people of the Albanians in Macedonia, of autonomy and equal national rights of the Albanians in Presheva, Bujanoc, Medvegja, and Montenegro.

There were no reports on attempts to obstruct the proceedings of the LDK convention by the Serbian authorities being held in Pristina. In recent days there was increasing repression against LDK activists throughout Kosova, and it was feared that the Serbian authorities would try to hamper the convention session. However, there were reports of "normal" daily repression continuing even today throughout Kosova.